

A COMMENTARY ON PERSIUS' FIFTH SATIRE

by

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ABSTRACT

Persius is not a particularly favoured poet today, and the standard commentaries on his fifth satire are obsolescent and generally inadequate. The present thesis is intended as an exhaustive study of the poem's language and subject-matter. The colloquial, prosaic and poetical elements in Persius' diction and syntax are determined, together with his neologisms, ellipses and abuses of regular Latin practice. Persius' reliance on Horatian syntax and phraseology, and his tendency to modify what he borrows are noted. Interpretations are advanced on his extensive use of pregnant or deliberately ambiguous Latin and on his strikingly harsh verbal collocations. The textual problems of the poem are examined. The sources and precedents for Persius' numerous metaphors are cited, and detailed treatment is accorded those instances of figurative language which are lengthily sustained or more than usually complex and allusive. The essentially orthodox nature of Persius' Stoicism is demonstrated by references to Stoic sources, and his more conventional type of moralising related to the broad-based ethical instruction found in other Latin writers. Many points of obscurity in Persius' subject-matter are investigated.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- ALL Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie
- D-S Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines
- OLD Oxford Latin Dictionary
- R-E Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertums-
wissenschaft: Neue Bearbeitung
- SVF J. von Arnim's Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta
- TLL Thesaurus Linguae Latinae

Abbreviated references to periodicals usually follow the system of L'Année philologique. The commentaries on Persius by I. Casaubon, O. Jahn and J. Conington (edited by H. Nettleship) are cited by the authors' names. D. Bo, Auli Persii Flacci Lexicon (Hildesheim, 1967) is referred to as Bo, and W.V. Clausen, A. Persii Flacci Saturarum Liber: Accedit vita (Oxford, 1956) as Clausen. A. Otto, Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer (Leipzig, 1890, repr. Hildesheim, 1962) is cited as Otto, Sprichwörter. The Grammars of Kühner-Stegmann and Hofmann-Szantyr, and the etymological dictionaries of Walde-Hofmann (third edition) and Ernout-Meillet (fourth edition) are indicated by the authors' names.

Vatibus hic mos est, centum sibi poscere voces,
 centum ora et linguas optare in carmina centum,
 fabula seu maesto ponatur hianda tragoedo,
 volnera seu Parthi ducentis ab inguine ferrum.

'quorsum haec? aut quantas robusti carminis offas 5

ingeris, ut par sit centeno gutture niti?

grande locuturi nebulas Helicone legunto,

si quibus aut Procnes aut si quibus olla Thyestae

fervebit saepe insulso cenanda Glyconi.

tu neque anhelanti, coquitur dum massa camino, 10

folle premis ventos nec clauso murmure raucus

nescio quid tecum grave cornicaris inepte

nec scloppo tumidas intendis rumpere buccas. 11

verba togae sequeris iunctura callidus acri,

ore teres modico, pallentis radere mores 15

doctus et ingenuo culpam defigere ludo.

hinc trahe quae dicis mensasque relinque Mycenis

cum capite et pedibus plebeiaque prandia noris.'

non equidem hoc studeo, pullatis ut mihi nugis

pagina turgescat dare pondus idonea fumo. 20

secrete loquimur. tibi nunc hortante Camena

excutienda damus praecordia, quantaque nostrae

pars tua sit, Cornute, animae, tibi, dulcis amice,

ostendisse iuvat. pulsa, dinoscere cautus
quid solidum crepet et pictae tectoria linguae. 25
hic ego centenas ausim deponere fauces,
ut quantum mihi te sinuoso in pectore fixi
voce traham pura, totumque hoc verba resistent
quod latet arcana non enarrabile fibra.

 cum primum pavido custos mihi purpura cessit 30
bullaque subcinctis Laribus donata pependit,
cum blandi comites totaque inpune Subura
permisit sparsisse oculos iam candidus umbo,
cumque iter ambiguum est et vitae nescius error
diducit trepidas ramosa in compita mentes, 35
me tibi supposui. teneros tu suscipis annos
Socratico, Cornute, sinu. tum fallere sollers
adposita intortos extendit regula mores
et premitur ratione animus vincique laborat 40
artificemque tuo ducit sub pollice voltum.
tecum etenim longos memini consumere soles
et tecum primas epulis decerpere noctes.
unum opus et requiem pariter disponimus ambo
atque verecunda laxamus seria mensa.
non equidem hoc dubites, amborum foedere certo 45

consentire dies et ab uno sidere duci.

nostra vel aequali suspendit tempora Libra

Parca tenax veri, seu nata fidelibus hora

dividit in Geminos concordia fata duorum

Saturnumque gravem nostro Iove frangimus una, 50

nescio quod certe est quod me tibi temperat astrum.

mille hominum species et rerum discolor usus;

velle suum cuique est nec voto vivitur uno.

mercibus hic Italis mutat sub sole recenti

rugosum piper et pallentis grana cumini, 55

hic satur inrigo mavult turgescere somno,

hic campo indulget, hunc alea decoquit, ille

in venerem putris; sed cum lapidosa cheragra

fregerit articulos veteris ramalia fagi,

tunc crassos transisse dies lucemque palustrem 60

et sibi iam seri vitam ingemuere relictam.

at te nocturnis iuvat inpallescere chartis;

cultor enim iuvenum purgatas inseris aures

fruge Cleanthea. petite hinc, puerique senesque,

finem animo certum miserisque viatica canis. 65

'cras hoc fiet.' idem cras fiat. 'quid? quasi magnum

nempe diem donas!' sed cum lux altera venit,

iam cras hesternum consumpsimus; ecce aliud cras

egerit hos annos et semper paulum erit ultra.

nam quamvis prope te, quamvis temone sub uno 70

vertentem sese frustra sectabere canthum,

cum rota posterior curras et in axe secundo.

libertate opus est. non hac, ut quisque Velina

Publius emeruit, scabiosum tesserula far

possidet. heu steriles veri, quibus una Quiritem 75

vertigo facit! hic Dama est non tresis agaso,

vappa lippus et in tenui farragine mendax.

verterit hunc dominus, momento turbinis exit

Marcus Dama. papae! Marco spondente recusas

credere tu nummos? Marco sub iudice palles? 80

Marcus dixit, ita est. adsigna, Marce, tabellas.

haec mera libertas, hoc nobis pillea donant.

'an quisquam est alius liber, nisi ducere vitam

cui licet ut libuit? licet ut volo vivere; non sum

liberior Bruto?' 'mendose colligis' inquit 85

Stoicus hic aurem mordaci lotus aceto,

'hoc relicum accipio, "licet" illud et "ut volo" tolle.'

'vindicta postquam meus a praetore recessi,

cur mihi non liceat, iussit quodcumque voluntas,

excepto siquid Masuri rubrica vetabit?' 90

disce, sed ira cadat naso rugosaque sanna,
 dum veteres avias tibi de pulmone revello.
 non praetoris erat stultis dare tenuia rerum
 officia atque usum rapidae permittere vitae;
 sambucam citius caloni aptaveris alto. 95
 stat contra ratio et secretam garrit in aurem,
 ne liceat facere id quod quis vitiabit agendo.
 publica lex hominum naturaque continet hoc fas,
 ut teneat vetitos inscitia debilis actus.
 diluis elleborum, certo conpescere puncto 100
 nescius examen? vetat hoc natura medendi.
 navem si poscat sibi peronatus arator
 luciferi rudis, exclamet Melicerta perisse
 frontem de rebus. tibi recto vivere talo
 ars dedit et veri speciem dinoscere calles, 105
 ne qua subaerato mendosum tinniat auro?
 quaeque sequenda forent quaeque evitanda vicissim,
 illa prius creta, mox haec carbone notasti?
 es modicus voti, presso lare, dulcis amicis?
 iam nunc adstringas, iam nunc granaria laxes, 110
 inque luto fixum possis transcendere nummum
 nec gluttu sorbere salivam Mercurialem?

'haec mea sunt, teneo' cum vere dixeris, esto
 liberque ac sapiens praetoribus ac Iove dextro.
 sin tu, cum fueris nostrae paulo ante farinae, 115
 pelliculam veterem retines et fronte politus
 astutam vapido servas in pectore volpem,
 quae dederam supra relego funemque reduco.
 nil tibi concessit ratio; digitum exere, peccas,
 et quid tam parvum est? sed nullo ture litabis, 120
 haereat in stultis brevis ut semuncia recti.
 haec miscere nefas nec, cum sis cetera fossor,
 tris tantum ad numeros Satyrum moveare Bathylli.
 'liber ego.' unde datum hoc sumis, tot subdite rebus?
 an dominum ignoras nisi quem vindicta relaxat? 125
 'i, puer, et strigiles Crispini ad balnea defer.'
 si increpuit 'cessas nugator?', servitium acre
 te nihil inpellit nec quicquam extrinsecus intrat
 quod nervos agitet; sed si intus et in iecore aegro
 nascuntur domini, qui tu inpunitior exis 130
 atque hic quem ad strigilis scutica et metus egit erilis?
 mane piger stertis.' 'surge' inquit Avaritia, 'eia
 surge.' negas. instat. 'surge' inquit. 'non queo.'
 'surge.'
 'et quid agam?' 'rogat! en saperdas advehe Ponto,

castoreum, stuppas, hebenum, tus, lubrica Coa; 135
 tolle recens primus piper et sitiante camelo.
 verte aliquid; iura.' 'sed Iuppiter audiet.' 'eheu,
 baro, regustatum digito terebrare salinum
 contentus perages, si vivere cum Iove tendis.'
 iam pueris pellem succinctus et oenophorum aptas. 140
 ocius ad navem! nihil obstat quin trabe vasta
 Aegaeum rapias, ni sollers Luxuria ante
 seductum moneat: 'quo deinde, insane, ruis, quo?
 quid tibi vis? calido sub pectore mascula bilis
 intumuit quam non extinxerit urna cicutae? 145
 tu mare transilias? tibi torta cannabe fulto
 cena sit in transtro Veientanumque rubellum
 exhalet vapida laesum pice sessilis obba?
 quid petis? ut nummi, quos hic quincunce modesto
 nutrieras, pergant avidos sudare deunces? 150
 indulge genio, carpamus dulcia, nostrum est
 quod vivis, cinis et manes et fabula fies,
 vive memor leti, fugit hora, hoc quod loquor inde est.'
 en quid agis? duplici in diversum scinderis hamo.
 huncine an hunc sequeris? subeas alternus oportet 155
 ancipiti obsequio dominos, alternus oberres.

nec tu, cum obstiteris semel instantique negaris
 parere imperio, 'rupi iam vincula' dicas;
 nam et luctata canis nodum abripit, et tamen illi,
 cum fugit, a collo trahitur pars longa catenae. 160
 'Dave, cito, hoc credas iubeo, finire dolores
 praeteritos meditor' (crudum Chaerestratus unguem
 adrodens ait haec). 'an siccis dedecus obstem
 cognatis? an rem patriam rumore sinistro
 limen ad obscenum frangam, dum Chrysidis udas 165
 ebrius ante fores extincta cum face canto?'
 'euge, puer, sapias, dis depellentibus agnam
 percute.' 'sed censen plorabit, Dave, relicta?'
 'nugaris. solea, puer, obiurgabere rubra,
 ne trepidare velis atque artos rodere casses. 170
 nunc ferus et violens; at si vocet, haut mora dicas
 "quidnam igitur faciam? nec nunc, cum arcessat et ultro
 supplicet, accedam?" si totus et integer illinc
 exieras, nec nunc.' hic hic quod quaerimus, hic est,
 non in festuca, lictor quam iactat ineptus. 175
 ius habet ille sui, palpo quem ducit hiantem
 cretata Ambitio? 'vigila et ciceringere large
 rixanti populo, nostra ut Floralia possint
 aprici meminisse senes.' quid pulchrius? at cum

Herodis venere dies unctaque fenestra 180

dispositae pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernae
portantes violas rubrumque amplexa catinum
cauda natat thynni, tumet alba fidelia vino,
labra moves tacitus recutitaque sabbata palles.

tum nigri lemures ovoque pericula rupto, 185

tum grandes galli et cum sistro lusca sacerdos
incussere deos inflantis corpora, si non
praedictum ter mane caput gustaveris ali.

dixeris haec inter varicosos centuriones,
continuo crassum ridet Pulfenius ingens 190
et centum Graecos curto centusse licetur.

1-18. The refusal by an author to deal in a genre or theme other than his own is a widespread motif in Latin poetry. Martial, whose outlook is very similar to P.'s, displays antipathy towards the hackneyed legends of tragedy and epic, which are concerned with monstra and, unlike his epigrams, can be of no value or interest to readers (IV.49, VIII.3, IX.50, X.4); the turgid and unrestrained style of the high genres is far removed from his own poetry (IV.49.7-8, VIII.3.13-14, 21-2). Juvenal, faced with reams of contemporary verse founded on myth (1.7-13), prefers the realities of satire to the make-believe world of epic (1.51-4, 162-4). The attitude is established in didactic poetry: Virgil will have nothing to do with trifling myths known to everyone (Georg. III.3-8); Manilius rejects the well-known themes, attempting instead a wholly new undertaking (II.49-59); the author of the Aetna, impatient of famous myths (9-23) and the falsehoods disseminated by various poets (74-91), writes what is true (91-3). Elegists claim that love poetry is more pertinent to everyday life than tragedy or epic (Prop. III.3, Ov. Am. II.1, 18, III.1), while Horace refuses epic because of an alleged inability to handle the high genre (Sat. II.1.12-15, Carm. I.6, IV.2, Ep. II.1.250-9). For P., tragedy involves expressing the trite and well-worn stories of mythology in pompous, empty language; satire is a superior genre because its style is restrained and commonplace, and its moralising content has everyday relevance.

P. initially sets satire against both tragedy and epic (3-4), but then concentrates on a comparison with tragedy alone.

That he elects to give tragedy special treatment is a probable reflection of part of the contemporary literary scene. In the later first and early second centuries A.D., a considerable amount of tragedy was being composed, largely for recitation: Seneca's tragedies were written during P.'s lifetime, the Octavia apparently just after Nero's death; other compositions are mentioned, cf. Tac. Dial. 2.1 Maternus Catonem recitaverat, 3.3 sequenti recitatione Thyestes dicet, Juv. 1.4-6 inpune diem consumpserit ingens / Telephus aut summi plena iam margine libri / scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes?. Further, tragedy was not confined to literary coteries, but, as suggested by P. (3, 9), was still performed in theatres at this time: Pomponius staged tragedies during Claudius' reign (Tac. Ann. XI.13.1, Plin. Ep. VII.17.11), Nero acted tragic roles on stage (e.g. Suet. Nero, 21.3, Juv. 8.220), and Quintilian (XI.3.73) implies the continuing performance of tragedy in his period: see further H.D. Jocelyn, The Tragedies of Ennius (Cambridge, 1967), pp.47ff. In addition, tragedy is often mentioned in the literary criticism of the Silver Age, and Varius' Thyestes and Ovid's Medea were admired well into the Empire, cf. Quint. X.1.98, Tac. Dial. 12.6. It may be, therefore, that tragedy, being recited, performed and discussed, was more fashionable than epic. P. mentions both genres, partly because they are alike opposed to satire in theme and language, and partly because, in the view of Aristotle and following literary critics, drama and epic are the outstanding poetic genres: Horace, for example, recommends them as the principal vehicles of Augustan classicism.

1. vatibus In archaic Latin, vates means 'soothsayer' or 'clairvoyant', cf. Plaut. Mil. 911 bonus vates poteras esse; nam quae sunt futura dicis, and its disreputable overtones in the simile at Ennius, Ann. 213-14 (V.²) are well-known. The word is again pejorative at Lucr. I.102, 108, Cic. N.D. I.55, Sall. Hist. I.77.3 (M.); and while Virgil and much subsequent Augustan poetry make vates a complimentary or fashionable substitute for poeta, often identifying it with the Muses' προφήτης or μάντις, Livy talks of vates in unmistakably irreverent terms (XXV.1.8, XXXIX.8.4, 16.8); even Augustan poets, who on several occasions apply vates to themselves, are not averse to mockery of the word, cf. Hor. Ep. II.1.26, Ov. Am. III.6.17. In Silver Latin, vates by no means wholly replaces poeta, though the latter is excluded from the high poetic genres: vates and poeta are used without discernible preference by Martial, Juvenal and Tacitus, while Quintilian favours poeta; vates very often means simply 'poet', poeta, but occasionally has the sense 'divinely inspired bard', as at Sen. Brev.Vit. 9.2, Quint. X.1.48, XII.10.24; vates is also used without poetical associations to mean 'seer', e.g. in Lucan, Tacitus and Juvenal, and sometimes contemptuous overtones are apparent, cf. e.g. Juv. 6.584. P. uses vates three times: in Prol. 7, it seems to mean something like 'divine poet', the irony of the whole passage and the striking semipaganus strongly suggesting that P.'s self-alignment with the vates is not to be taken seriously; at 1.34 and here, vates looks to be synonymous with poeta. However, the context in each case implies that vates is anything but a flattering

title; and since vates retains a variety of meanings in Silver Latin, and since also P. at least claims for his diction some proximity to everyday usage (14), it is possible that vates in P. has connotations of fraudulence and inanity in keeping with the bad name of popular vates.

vatibus hic mos est Commentators compare the phraseology with Hor. Sat. I.2.86 regibus hic mos est.

1-2. centum sibi poscere voces, / centum ora et linguas optare in carmina centum The idea is a commonplace, as shown by Courcelle, REL, 33(1955), 231-40, who nevertheless omits mention of some of its more important occurrences. The formula begins with Iliad, II.488-90, and is first taken up in Latin at Ennius, Ann. 561-2 (V.²) non si, lingua loqui saperet quibus, ora decem sint, / innumerum, ferro cor sit pectusque revinctum. The number of mouths is raised to a hundred by Hostius ap. Macrobian. Sat. VI.3.6 non, si mihi linguae / centum atque ora sient totidem vocesque liquatae, and the motif is found in Augustan poetry at Virg. Georg. II.43-4, Aen. VI.625-6, Ov. Met. VIII.533-4, Fast. II.119-20, and in Silver Latin epic at Stat. Theb. XII.797-8, Sil. IV.525-6. For Ovid as well as for P., the formula is a cliché: Hollis on Met. VIII.533-4 points out that the poet is probably mocking it. In fact, the idea may have been parodied much earlier than Ovid, cf. Caecil. 126-7 (R.³) si linguas decem / habeam, vix habeam satis te qui laudem, Lache. See further 26-9n.

centum ... / centum ... centum Anaphora of centum is greatly

favoured by Virgil, who uses it to reinforce the impression of vast numbers: so his hundred-mouth formula, non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum; cf. also Georg. IV.383, Aen. I.634-5, IV.199-200, VII.93, etc. P. imitates this locution, but centum twice-repeated is probably without parallel; in addition, the third centum breaks the anaphora (which could easily have been continued) and is placed in an emphatic and slightly odd position. P. seems deliberately to exaggerate the motif.

voces, / ... ora ... linguas The words are conventional in the formula as it appears before P.: all of them are found in Hostius, ora is in Ennius, Virgil and Ovid, and linguae in Virgil and Ovid. The satirist's use of all three again suggests overdoing of the idea; in addition, their progressively more physical emphasis looks to be intentional, anticipating the images of eating to come (5-6n.).

2. carmina A dignified term for poetry, carmen is applied to the lower poetic genres only three times in classical and Silver Latin, and then in special circumstances, cf. Hor. Sat. II.1.63, P. Prolog. 7, Mart. I.4.6. Here, P. cites as instances of carmina tragedy and epic (3-4).

3. fabula The general word for a drama, whether tragic or comic, cf. TLL, VI.1.28.18ff.

maesto ... tragoedo The gloomy tenor of tragedy is transferred to the actor himself. For the acting of tragedy in the Empire, see 1-18n.

ponatur pono in the sense of compono, scribo or describo is a rare and possibly technical usage confined to Cicero (e.g. Leg. II.3, Fin. II.31), P. (cf. 1.70, 86), Quintilian (e.g. III.8.53, IV.2.108, V.10.44) and Juv. 1.155. For the ambiguity of ponatur, see 5-6n.

hianda The transitive use of hio occurs first in Prop. II.31.6 carmen hiare, and is found elsewhere only here and at Val. Flacc. VI.706 (Tränkle, Sprachkunst, p.71); P. may also have had in mind the unique application of hisco at Prop. III.3.3-4 reges, Alba, tuos et regum facta tuorum, / tantum operis, nervis hiscere posse meis. The gaping mouth tends to be associated with turgid literary composition and is decidedly pejorative, cf. Hor. A.P. 138 quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?, Juv. 6.636 grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu. P.'s maesto ... tragoedo provides hianda with an additional reference to the actor's gaping mask, cf. Juv. 3.175 personae pallentis hiatum.

4. volnera seu Parthi ducentis ab inguine ferrum The reference is to epic poetry, following on from the mention of tragedy in the previous line. Commentators compare the language with Hor. Sat. II.1.13-15 neque enim quivis horrentia pilis / agmina nec fracta pereuntis cuspide Gallos / aut labentis equo describat vulnera Parthi. Jahn argues that P.'s words are ambiguous: Parthi may be subjective as well as objective genitive, and ducentis ab inguine ferrum mean both 'pulling the missile from his groin' and 'drawing an arrow from the

region of his groin' so as to deal vulnera. However, the quiver slung low by the groin is nowhere mentioned as a feature of the Parthians. Even if ferrum is understood as 'sword' (with Parthi as subjective genitive), there are obstacles: the sword was not a weapon of the Parthians, and inguen does not elsewhere indicate the place where a sword is slung (Jahn's reference to Virg. Aen. X.788 eripit a femine (ensem) is hardly in point). It is much more convincing to take Parthi as objective genitive and ferrum as the sword or spear of a Roman soldier. Nevertheless, the picture remains a curious one. Perhaps the Parthian horseman, in his engagements with Roman infantry, was as liable to receive a wound in the groin as anywhere, but such wounds are not associated with surviving descriptions of the Parthians. The line may be a reference to a literary work now lost: the Parthian theme is considered potential epic material at Hor. Sat. II.1.15, Carm. IV.15.7, Ep. II.1.256, Prop. II.10.14, III.9.54, and it is not unlikely that such a poem was written. But P.'s words may best be explained as a conflation of an epic theme, the Parthians, and an epic motif, the wound in the groin: the latter, frequently found in Homer, is taken up in Roman epic, cf. e.g. Virg. Aen. X.589, 786, Ov. Met. V.132 in obliquo missum stetit inguine ferrum, Stat. Theb. VII.635.

5. quorsum haec? Cornutus interrupts P.'s preamble. quorsum or quorsus is recorded elsewhere in verse in comedy and Horace's Satires, and among artistic prose writers in Cicero; P.'s use of it without a verb is preceded by Terence and Cicero (not his speeches).

5-6. aut quantas robusti carminis offas / ingeris, ut par sit centeno gutture niti? The thought stems from the ambiguity of 1-3: the progression in voces, ora and linguas has already been seen (1-2n.); in addition, ponatur (3) may denote the serving of food: pono for appono is found in comedy, Horace's hexameters, P. (1.53, 3.111, 6.23), Petronius, Martial and Juvenal. Cornutus is thus made to suppose that the hundred mouths and tongues required by vates are not for the purpose of poetic expression but for eating the tragedy or epic that is to be served up.

5. quantas robusti carminis offas The equation of literature with food is ancient and widespread. The simplest analogy is that between words or poetry and honey and nectar, cf. Iliad, I.249, Hes. Theog. 84, Pind. Ol. 7.7-8, Lucr. I.947, Hor. Ep. I.19.44, P. Prol. 14, Taillardat, Images d'Aristophane, pp. 431ff. Another common idea is of 'tasting' talk or literature: γεύομαι and gusto together with their compounds are frequently used in this way, cf. e.g. Pind. Isth. 5.20, Aristoph. Nub. 523, ps.-Plato, Alcib. I.114A, Menand. Georg. 45, Plaut. Most. 1063, Cic. Att. XIII.48.2, Sen. Ep. 46.1, Quint. XII.2.4. Less usual verbs are found at Aristoph. Vesp. 462 ἔτυχον τῶν μελῶν τῶν Φιλοκλέους βεβρωκότες, Acharn. 447 οἷον ἤδη ῥηματῶν ἐμπύμπλαμαι. Aeschylus is said to have described his works as side-dishes of Homer's great feasts, τεμάχη τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δείπνων (Athen. 347E). Euripides' 'spicy' style is characterised solely in terms of food at Aristoph. frag. 130(K) ὀξωτά, σιλφιωτά, βολβός, τεύτλιον, / περίκομμα, θρῖον,

ἐγκέφαλος, ὄργανον, / καταπυγοσύνη ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πρὸς κρέας
μέγα. Modern rhetoric is similarly ridiculed at Petron. 1
mellitos verborum globulos et omnia dicta factaque quasi
papavere et sesamo sparsa. See also 8-9n.

robusti carminis The epithet denotes the highest genus dicendi,
cf. its combination with uber at Cic. Or. 91, and its more
explicit application at Quint. XII.10.58 alterum grande atque
robustum, quod ἄδρὸν dicunt. P.'s robusti, however, is
ambiguous, meaning also something like 'nourishing', cf.
Celsus, II.18.17 itemque ex feris, quo maius quodque animal,
eo robustior ex eo cibus est.

offas For the meaning, cf. Fest. 282(L.) penitam offam
Naeuius appellat absegmen carnis cum coda; antiqui autem
offam vocabant abscisum globi forma, ut manu glomeratam pultem.
offa is found elsewhere in verse only in Plautus, Juvenal and
at Virg. Aen. VI.420; it is absent from artistic prose except
for a few instances in Cicero's de Divinatione, where it is
always a technical term alluding to alectryonomanancy; its
appearance in Virgil probably reflects Ennian usage, and that
it belongs to popular speech is further suggested by its
occurrence in the proverb saepe audivi inter os et offam multa
intervenire posse (Gell. XIII.18.1).

6. ingeris The verb is ambiguous: it may mean 'ingest, take
in in large quantities', cf. e.g. Sen. Ep. 83.18, 114.25, a
hundred mouths being required by a poet to consume his own

tragedy; ingeris also suggests 'heap up, provide', i.e. for others to eat (so TLL, VII.1.1549.32), tragedy being thrust down people's throats (8-9n.).

par sit The impersonal par est is probably prosaic: it is frequent in comedy and Lucretius, but occurs only once in Augustan poetry (Hor. Ep. I.15.25) and only here in Silver Latin verse; it is found quite often in Cicero, Livy, Quintilian and Tacitus.

centeno gutture Distributives are regularly used for cardinals when applied to objects forming a pair (e.g. Plaut. Pers. 317 bini boves, Virg. Aen. VIII.168 bina frena) and to nouns used only in the plural (e.g. aedes, castra, litterae). The poetic language discards these rules, largely for metrical convenience (many cardinals cannot be included in hexameters or may be only with difficulty), but also in order to achieve stylistically unusual expressions, cf. e.g. Virg. Aen. V.85 septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit, 560-1 tres equitum numero turmae ternique ... / ductores; this usage is common to Augustan and Silver poetry (cf. P. 5.26), and is also found occasionally in Seneca, Pliny the Elder, Tacitus and Suetonius. However, the use of the singular distributive adjective for cardinals is a much rarer phenomenon, and is strictly an abuse of Latin: it occurs first at Lucr. V.879 corpore bino and next at Virg. Aen. V.120 terno ... ordine, X.207 centenague arbore; it is found once each in Ovid and Martial, and fairly often in Silver epic, particularly Statius;

it is rare in prose. On the use of distributives for cardinals, cf. Hofmann-Szantyr, pp.212f. and the works cited there. P.'s centeno gutture is probably imitative of grand style, giving mock-exaggerated status to the hundred-mouth motif.

guttur guttur is unprecedented in the formula (1-2n.) and its use marks the shift of emphasis from poetic composition to ingestion.

7. grande locuturi grandis, like robustus (5), denotes the highest of the genera dicendi, cf. e.g. Quint. XII.10.58 (quoted on 5), and both these terms mean the same as gravis (12n.). In rhetoric and literary criticism, a distinction is made between the genuine and the spurious grand style, the terminology being accordingly adapted: the kindred fault of the genus grande is called the genus inflatum at ad Her. IV.15, gravis oratio saepe inperitis videtur ea quae turgēt et inflata est; Horace says professus grandia turgēt (A.P. 27); Seneca cites instances of stylistic tumor at Contr. IX.2.27, X. praef. 9, 1.14, Suas. 1.12-13, 6.12; cf. also Petron. 2 grandis et ut ita dicam pudica oratio non est maculosa nec turgida, sed naturali pulchritudine exsurgit, Quint. X.2.16 fiunt pro grandibus tumidi, XII.10.80 sic erunt ... grandia non tumida, ps.-Long. Subl. 3.3 ὅλως δ' ἔοικεν εἶναι τὸ οἰδεῖν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα δυσφυλακτότατον. φύσει γὰρ ἅπαντες οἱ μεγέθους ἐφιεμένοι, φεύγοντες ἀσθενείας καὶ ξηρότητος κατάγνωσιν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ὑποφέρονται. P., however,

uses the words for 'grand' and 'turgid' indiscriminately: robusti, grande and grave appear in obviously pejorative contexts and look to be as uncomplimentary as tumidas (13) and turgescat (20). For the satirist, all these terms indicate an undesirable style: sublimity is ironically identified with bombast.

nebulas Helicone legunto The motif of the poet on Helicon (or Parnassus) or dreaming he is there is well-worn, cf. Hes. Theog. 22-35, Callim. Aetia, I.frag.2, Ennius, Ann. 5-6 (V.²), Lucr. I.117-18, Virg. Ecl. 6.64-73, Prop. III.3; Ovid makes a jest of it (A.A. I.27-8), P. sees it as a meaningless convention (Prol. 1-3). P.'s expression here is a pregnant one. Helicone may be taken as the metaphorical abode of poets (cf. Hor. A.P. 296) or as representing the height of poetic achievement (cf. Hor. Ep. II.1.218, Petron. 118); it is also traditionally the seat of poetic inspiration, in which case nebulas relates to poetic themes and denotes worthlessness, cf. Plaut. Poen. 274, Otto, Sprichwörter, p.240, s.v. nebula (3). In addition, nebulas refers to style, cf. Hor. A.P. 229-30 migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas, / aut, dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet, where the stylistic and literal implications of 'high' style are combined; so too in P., since the poets' situation high on Helicon means they are likely to encounter clouds; and while ὑψηλός, ὕψος, altus and altitudo are common stylistic terms, the idea in both P. and Hor. A.P. 229-30 is of a style more than 'lofty', cf. ps.-Long. Subl. 3.2 τίνα ... ὄντα οὐχ ὑψηλὰ ἀλλὰ μετέωρα. For the form legunto, see next note.

8. si quibus aut ... aut si quibus The pleonastic phraseology is strikingly uncharacteristic of P.'s concise style. If anything is meant by it, it may be a kind of legal formula. Juridical language is generally repetitive and superfluous, aiming less at elegance of expression than precision in sense. si quis or si qui is extremely common in legal formulas, cf. e.g. Marouzeau, Quelques Aspects de la Formation du Latin Littéraire (Paris, 1949), p.103. In addition, the future imperative, almost the sine qua non of laws and edicts (cf. e.g. Cic. Leg. II.19, III.8, Liv. XXXVIII.38.1ff.), disappears from Silver Latin except for a few stereotypes, such as esto, sunt, scito (Kühner-Stegmann, I.196ff.), and the form legunto (7) would have struck Roman readers of the first century A.D. by its rare and archaic nature. It is therefore possible that P. is stating in legalistic manner a literary lex, that grand style and grand themes belong together, for which cf. e.g. Cic. Opt.Gen. 1, Hor. A.P.: 89-91, Quint. X.2.22 sua cuique proposito lex, suus decor est: nec comoedia in cothurnos adsurgit, nec contra tragoedia socco ingreditur; the dignified framework of the lines is offset by their content: P. draws the legal equation between hopelessly high-flown style and the clichés of mythology.

Procnes aut ... olla Thyestae Two famous and overworked tragic themes: dramas on the tale of Procne were composed by various Greek playwrights and by Accius (Radke, R-E, XXIII. 247.52ff.); the Thyestes-theme was handled in Latin by Ennius, Accius, Varius and Seneca and in Greek by Aeschylus, Sophocles,

Euripides and many others (H.D. Jocelyn, The Tragedies of Ennius, p.418). Procne is considered stock tragic material at Hor. A.P. 187, Juv. 7.12, and Thyestes at Hor. A.P. 91, 186, Tac. Dial. 3.2; cena Thyestae is proverbial (Otto, Sprichwörter, p.348,n.), and the story is ridiculed for its unreality by Martial (IV.49.4, V.53.1, X.4.1, 35.6). P. treats Procne and Thyestes as parallel characters, whereas they are not: Procne cooked but Thyestes ate; the parallel is strictly between Tereus and Thyestes, as at Plaut. Rud. 509, Mart. IV.49.3-4, and perhaps P. is being deliberately negligent of mythological detail.

olla The word occurs in verse only in Plautus (in the form aula), Catullus, Varro, Horace's Satires, P. (also at 4.31), Martial and Juvenal; its usage almost always relates to everyday food. olla is found twice in stylised prose, at Cic. Fam. IX.18.4 potes neque ollam denariorum implere, where its colloquial tone is evident, and at Liv. XLI.15.2, where it is applied to a sacrificial cauldron. The essentially vulgar tone of olla is suggested not only by its distribution among Latin authors but by its appearance in the proverbs at Catull. 94.2 ipsa olera olla legit and Petron. 38 sociorum olla male fervet.

8-9. si quibus aut Procnes aut si quibus olla Thyestae / fervebit The idea of poets consuming or serving up poetry (5-6) is temporarily set aside, but the associations of food persist and take on a new aspect through the introduction of

the two renowned cannibalistic stories from tragedy. The metaphor of poets cooking a dish of poetry is used in Greek comedy, cf. Metagenes, 14(K) ὡς ἄν / καιναῖσι παροψίσι καὶ πολλαῖς εὐωχῆσω τὸ θέατρον, Aristoph. frag.333(K.) ἦν μέγα τι βρῶμ' ἔτι τρυγδοποιουμουσικῆ / ἦνίκα Κράτης ποτὲ τάριχος ἐλεφάντινον / λαμπρὸν ἐκόμιζεν ἀπόνως παραβεβλημένον / ἄλλα τε τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα μυρὶ' ἐκιχλίζετο, Taillardat, Images d'Aristophane, pp.439ff. P. may have been influenced to some extent by these images, but if so, he has excluded all mention of an audience and applied the idea of cooking not to poetry in general but to tragic themes that involve cooking. P.'s expression comes down to a comic type of compression found, for example, at Hor. Sat. I.10.36 turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona, II.5.40-1 seu pingui tentus omaso / Furius hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpis, and closely aligns tragedians with cannibalism, thus preparing the way for 17-18. For all that, fervebit is ambiguous, denoting also the successful progress of a literary undertaking, cf. Ov. Pont. III.9.21-2 scribentem iuvat ipse labor minuitque laborem, / cumque suo crescens pectore fervet opus.

9. saepe insulso cenanda Glyconi Another possibility of the images of eating and cooking is realised: playing the part of Tereus or Thyestes, the tragic actor Glycon dines regularly on the tragedians' hideous concoctions. P. may possibly have been inspired by the Greek representation of an actor as ἰαμβειοφάγος (Taillardat, Images d'Aristophane, p.448, n.1), but the gruesomely comic nature of his image is his own.

insulso The word rarely occurs in artistic prose and is confined in poetry to the lower genres. Conington translates it as 'stupid', and commentators generally follow the scholiast's quod sine iocis fuit vel moribus insulsus. The meanings 'stupid, uncultured' are quite common to the epithet and may reasonably be claimed for it here. But it is very tempting to assume that P. is elaborating the image in 9 by an ambiguity in insulso: the translation 'tasteless', i.e. lacking discrimination, would be eminently suitable, and although insulsus is not expressly given this meaning by TLL, it may be argued that 'tasteless' is the basic sense of the word. insulsus is the opposite of salsus (Varro, L.L. VIII.62, Quint. VI.3.19); qui sapit or qui sapientiam habet is expressed as qui habet salem in Ter. Eun. 400; the man who lacks sal therefore lacks sapientia, cf. Catull. 17.12 insulsissimus est homo nec sapit pueri instar; at Ter. Ad. 427, sapientia means both 'wisdom' and 'taste' for food; thus in plain Latin sapio, sapientia and salem habeo may all denote 'taste' in the sense of discrimination. It is probable that insulso in P. implies a lack of sal, sapientia, 'taste', and indeed insulsus at least once betrays this fundamental meaning, cf. Cic. Att. XIII.31.4 o gulam insulsam!.

10-13. Three distinct images serve to ridicule high poetic style.

10-11. tu neque anhelanti, coquitur dum massa camino, / folle premis ventos Suggested by Hor. Sat. I.4.19-21 at tu conclusas

hircinis follibus auras, / usque laborantis dum ferrum molliat ignis, / ut mavis imitare; P. retains Horace's dum-clause but discards imitare for the sake of vividness. The image of bellows is fairly conventional: commentators cite Plaut. Bacch. 15-17 scio spiritum eius maiorem esse multo / quam folles taurini habent, cum liquescunt / petrae, ferrum ubi fit, Juv. 7.111 tunc immensa cavi spirant mendacia folles. The picture in Horace is contrasted with raro et perpauca loquentis (Sat. I.4.18), and both Horace and P. may be using it to denote an unconsidered and voluble style; both are perhaps also parodying the idea of poetic πνεῦμα or spiritus, cf. the characterisation of Aeschylus' style at Aristoph. Ran. 824-5 ῥήματα ... ἀποσπῶν / γηγενεῖ φύσηματι, 829 πλευμόνων πολὺν κόπον (with this last expression compare P.1.14 grande aliquid quod pulmo animae praelargus anhelet). But as with the two images following, the idea here seems rather to be generally pejorative than to make a definite stylistic or literary point.

anhelanti ... / folle An unusual locution for 'bellows': the latter is almost always signified by folles plural, the only other exception being Liv. XXXVIII.7.12 folle fabrili, where the rare application of the singular is eased by a distinctive epithet.

11-12. nec clauso murmure raucus / nescio quid tecum grave cornicaris inepte For the comparison of a poet with a crow, cf. Prolog. 13 corvos poetas et poetridas picas. A poet is often identified with a bird, usually a swan, by way of a

compliment (Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. Carm. I.6.2), and to call a poet a crow is clearly abusive, cf. Mart. I.53.7-8, Opelt, Schimpfwörter, p.221. clauso murmure, nescio quid and tecum all denote unintelligibility; murmure additionally anticipates cornicaris: for murmur of the call of birds, cf. Ov. A.A. II.466, Sen. H.O. 205. raucus is a vituperative epithet in itself (cf. Juv. 1.2 rauci Theseide Cordi), and also connotes the harsh cry of the cornix (cf. Lucr. VI. 752, Calp.Sic. 6.7).

12. grave Indicative of high poetic style, cf. e.g. Cic. Planc. 59 quae scripsit gravis et ingeniosus poeta (i.e. Accius), Prop. I.9.9 grave dicere carmen, Quint. X.1.66 Aeschylus ... sublimis et gravis et grandiloquus saepe usque ad vitium. See also 7n.

cornicaris Occurring only here before late Latin, cornicor is probably P.'s coinage, and looks to be modelled on Horace's formations ampullor (Ep. I.3.14) and iuvenor (A.P. 246).

inepte An unpoetic word (175n.), inepte may be both a loose pejorative and a rhetorical term, cf. Cic. de Or. II.17 qui aut tempus quid postulet non videt aut plura loquitur aut se ostentat aut eorum quibuscum est vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est, is ineptus esse dicitur.

13. nec gloppo tumidas intendis rumpere buccas According to the scholiast, a children's game involved striking distended

cheeks with the palms of the hands to produce a scloppus.

scloppo An obviously onomatopoeic word, found only here.

tumidas ... buccas The epithet is used literally ('swollen'), but the rhetorical sense of tumidus (7n.) also makes itself felt: the cheeks are filled with the emptiness of bombast, which finds expression in a meaningless scloppus. bucca is used in poetry only by Plautus, the satirists and Martial, and in artistic prose a few times by Cicero and Seneca; buccas here, following inepte (12) and scloppo, and in the general context, possibly suggests bucco, 'clown', 'driveller'.

14. verba togae sequeris iunctura callidus acri It is reasonable to see here an intentional self-affiliation on P.'s part to the basic standards and practice of Horatian style, cf. Hor. A.P. 47-8 dixeris egregie notum si callida verbum / reddiderit iunctura novum, 242-3 tantum series iuncturaque pollet, / tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris.

verba togae P.'s ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων or delectus verborum, corresponding to Horace's notum ... verbum and de medio sumptis but meaning something more than these terms. The toga is the badge of Roman citizenship denied to foreigners (Suet. Claud. 15), and P.'s expression therefore denotes the avoidance of foreign and outlandish language; since also the toga is an unconventional dress in the provinces (e.g. Juv. 3.172), verba togae points to the avoidance of provincial or rustic

language and, by implication, to a certain urbanitas in diction: for a definition of literary urbanitas, cf. Quint. VI.3.17 nam et urbanitas dicitur, qua quidem significari video sermonem praeferentem in verbis et sono et usu proprium quendam gustum urbis et sumptam ex conversatione doctorum tacitam eruditionem, denique cui contraria sit rusticitas. P.'s togae has the force of Romae or Romanorum, cf. Hor. Carm. III.5.10-11 togae / oblitus, but verba togae is an incongruous and strikingly unusual collocation: see further below.

sequeris For the verb, cf. Hor. Ep. II.2.143 ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis.

iunctura callidus acri P.'s description of his σύνθεσις or compositio is brief and highly selective. Horace seems to be first to use iunctura in a rhetorical context, though he may have been anticipated by Varro, cf. Mar.Vict. Gramm. VI.55.11 versus est, ut Varroni placet, verborum iunctura; but while iunctura there and in later instances such as Quint. IX.4.22, 27.33 implies 'composition' generally, iunctura in Horace and P. carries the specific meaning 'collocation' (Brink on Hor. A.P. 48). Horace is concerned with revitalising established and well-known words by means of callidae iuncturae; P., however, while retaining the idea of dexterity (callidus), would place such words in semantically abrasive collocations, thereby also revitalising them and not only pleasing his reader but surprising and disturbing him too. This stylistic statement is not meant to be all-inclusive; it simply fastens on

what is arguably the most remarkable single feature of P.'s poetry: verba togae itself is a iunctura acris, though not the usual kind; most of these collocations consist of a noun and adjective or adjectival phrase, cf. e.g. 1.18 patranti ... ocello, 33 balba ... nare, 2.61 curvae ... animae, 3.92 modice sitiante lagoena, 4.32 morientis ... aceti, 50 bibulas ... aures, and of a verb and noun (subject or object), cf. e.g. 1.106 demorsos sapit unguis, 3.81 silentia rodunt, 6.36 peccent casiae, 72 singultiet ... vena. The numerous iuncturae acres in the fifth satire are noted as they occur.

15. ore ... modico Opposed to grandiloquence, cf. Virg. Georg. III.294 magno nunc ore sonandum, Prop. II.10.12 magni nunc erit oris opus, Hor. Carm. IV.2.7-8 immensusque ruit profundo / Pindarus ore.

teres A rare word, occurring elsewhere in the lower poetic genres only at Hor. Sat. II.7.86. To judge from its position, teres is to be taken closely with ore ... modico, probably counterbalancing the latter expression with the sense 'polished', cf. Cic. de Or. III.52 est (oratio) et plena quidem sed tamen teres, et tenuis non sine nervis ac viribus.

pallentis ... mores A iunctura acris. The phrase means much the same as intortos ... mores (38), but is a far bolder collocation: pallor metaphorical for moral illness is naturally used of persons, cf. Hor. Sat. II.3.78, Ep. I.1.61, P. 3.43,

4.47, Juv. 2.50, but P. has transferred the symptom to the abstract mores.

pallentis radere mores Morality is seen as unhealthy flesh requiring the medical treatment of philosophy: as at 1.107, radere implies a healing operation, cf. Schol. peritus mores obtrectare vitiosos scribendo satiram, et obiurgationis animadversione corrigere, ut medici radere dicuntur carnem de vulneribus putrem, dum ad vivum perveniant, quo facilius curent.

16. doctus Emphatic by position. The direct claim that P. is qualified to write satire has no precedent in Horace, and reflects P.'s moral outlook: his commitment to Stoicism enables him to write moralising poetry which has that philosophy as its basis.

ingenuo ... ludo The epithet refers to a standard of humour, cf. Cic. Off. I.103 genus iocandi non profusum nec immodestum sed ingenuum et facetum esse debet ... duplex omnino est iocandi genus, unum illiberale, petulans, flagitiosum, obscenum, alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum; Horace defends his brand of humour at some length (Sat. I.4.78-103). ludus very commonly denotes small poetic genres, cf. H. Wagenvoort, 'Ludus Poeticus', LEC, 4(1935), 108-20.

culpam defigere ludo The commentators' views of this expression are most unsatisfactory. Casaubon and Jahn take the verb to mean 'pierce', and they are followed by Villeneuve,

Essai, p.461, who thinks P. is a gladiator running vice through; Bo agrees, 'dictis tamquam telis ferio, confodio'. However, while figo commonly means 'transfix, run through', defigo, according to OLD, has no such sense. When defigo appears in a context of stabbing or transfixing, its object is invariably the weapon used, not the part of the body that is pierced, cf. e.g. ad Her. IV.65 gladium in latere defixit, Cic. Cat. 1.16 (sicam) in consulis corpore defigere, Sil. I.386-7 hastam / ... defigit in inguine Hiberi. Such examples indicate the basic meanings of defigo, namely 'fix, fix in, fix to, fix down', cf. Plaut. Pers. 294 nisi te ... defigam in terram colapheis, Caes. B.G. V.18.3 sub aqua defixae sudes, Bell.Afr. 29.5 decurione percusso et ad equum defixo. Reckford, Hermes, 90(1962),498, translates culpam defigere as 'nail down vice', a rendering which the Latin probably admits but one which satisfies only English idiom. The solution to P.'s expression is that dismissed by Casaubon, 'non probo ut referamus ad magicas defixiones'. The notion originally inherent in defixio is that of 'inserting' or 'fixing' pins and needles into images (cf. Ov. Am. III.7.29-30, Her. 6.91-2), and there may be just a hint of it in culpam defigere; but defigo in the sphere of magic becomes a technical term meaning 'consign to perdition, damn': it carries no explicit reference to needles, etc., and the ablative of agent accompanying it is regularly spoken words, cf. Sen. Benef. VI.35.4 caput sanctum tibi dira precatone defigis, Plin. N.H. XXVIII.19 defigi ... diris deprecationibus, CIL, VIII.2756 carminibus defixa iacuit, Porph. on Hor. Epod. 17.28 Sabellis carminibus defigi

mentes humanas. With culpam defigere ludo, P. 'consigns vice to perdition by the spell of his poetry'. This interpretation, unlike many others advanced, involves no distortion of defigere. Further, P.'s image is not entirely preposterous: poetry is often thought of as a balm (Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. Carm. I.32.15), an idea developed at Hor. Ep. I.1.34-7, where the reading of Horace's moralising verse is said to act as a magical healing charm on the spiritually ill man; P.'s poetry is also a spell, but a destructive one, acting not on his readers themselves but on what may afflict them. Finally, culpam defigere thus understood is a typical iunctura acris, the abrasive element consisting in the application of defixio to an abstract target.

17-18. Tragedy and satire are contrasted in terms of food: the high genre is a cannibalistic feast, satire plain and modest fare, and it is all too clear which is preferable. The contrast is arrived at by sleight-of-hand: the separate images of a poet ingesting or supplying large amounts of tragic and epic food (5-6), of tragedians cooking children (8-9), and of an actor eating these dishes of human flesh (9) are compressed into one, so that tragedy is represented as a vast, grisly meal; following on from this, P. can depict satire as normal, everyday food.

17. mensas i.e. 'banquet', presumably meant to contrast with prandia (18).

Mycenis The scene of Thyestes' cannibalism, and a further reminder of the unreality of tragedy.

18. cum capite et pedibus According to Aesch. Agam. 1594-5, the children's feet were crushed and included in the meal; the dramatist does not say what became of their heads. The more favoured version is that the heads and feet were set aside by Atreus to be shown to Thyestes after he had eaten, cf. Apoll. Ep. II.13, Sen. Thy. 764, 1038-9, Hyg. Fab. 88. Here, however, the heads and feet, far from being omitted from the meal, are an obvious and horrific part of it.

plebeiaque prandia For the force of plebeia, cf. 3.111-14, where common food is considered wholesome and unpretentious. prandium is a modest, everyday word, occurring elsewhere in verse only in comedy, Horace's Satires and Martial.

19-29. P. agrees that he is not concerned to write empty words; his poetry is the expression of profound convictions.

19. studeo The verb is very frequent in comedy, and then disappears from verse except for a few instances, mostly in Horace (Axelson, Unp.Wörter, pp.107f.).

pullatis ... nugis The noun is colloquial, occurring in verse only in the lower genres and being avoided by all self-conscious prose stylists except Cicero who favours it mostly in his letters; it denotes inanity, and is applied mock-modestly to their poetry

by Catullus (1.4), Horace (Sat. I.9.2, Ep. II.9.42, II.2.141) and Martial. pullatus, first attested here, recurs a few times in Silver prose and once in Juvenal; it is generally thought to be derived from pullus and means 'clad in dark clothing'; similar formations are albatus and atratus. pullatus is used as an epithet of the common people, referring to their poor, dark-coloured clothes, cf. Quint. II.12.10 pullatum circumum, VI.4.6 pullatae turbae; in addition, dark clothes are worn in public mourning (e.g. Prop. IV.7.28, Luc. II.18-19) and pullatus may signify 'dressed in mourning garb', cf. Juv. 3.213 pullati proceres. But pullatis ... nugis, apparently a iunctura acris, is an extremely difficult collocation; Conington goes so far as to adopt the variant bullatis, which, to judge from established Latin usage, can only mean 'adorned with bullae'. P.'s expression seems designed to form a contrast with secrete loquimur (21), and it could therefore mean 'rubbish wearing the common garb'; nugis, however, is a low and insulting term ('trash'), and its qualification as 'common' would be very weak for P. Jahn explains the phrase as 'tragicis versibus', nugae being clad in the pulla as a sign of grief; but while pullatis ... nugis may be acceptable Latin for 'rubbish clothed in black', it is not an especially convincing periphrasis for 'tragedy': people dress in black to demonstrate their grief and sense of loss; nugae may do the same in a poet such as P., but they do not become 'tragedy' because of it. In an attempt to support his interpretation, Jahn throws up another, more attractive possibility: he refers to Cic. Vat. 30-2, where black clothes, especially when worn

on an unsuitable occasion, are said to draw attention to a person and cause a public stir; further, even when black is worn as a sign of mourning, the purpose is to seek popular recognition of grief and to draw attention to it. The black clothes of the nugae need not therefore be interpreted as their mourning garb, but may rather be understood to represent their ostentation and their being designed for public view; P., on the other hand, speaks secrete and does not strive to make an impression on people at large. But this is by no means a certain interpretation of pullatis, over which considerable doubt must remain.

20. turgescat The verb is found elsewhere in P. at 3.8 and 5.56, but is generally rare: it occurs in verse at Cic. T.D. III.18 and twice in Ovid, and in artistic prose at Cic. T.D. III.19 and twice in Quintilian. P.'s rhetorical application of turgesco, which is probably based on turgeo similarly used at ad Her. IV.15 and Hor. A.P. 27 (both quoted on 7), recurs at Quint. XII.10.73 inmodico tumore turgescit.

dare ... idonea For the rarity of idoneus in verse, cf. Axelson, Unp.Wörter, pp.105f. P.'s construction of the epithet with an infinitive is preceded only at Hor. Ep. I.16.12 fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus.

dare pondus idonea fumo Commentators compare Hor. Ep. I.19. 41-2 spissis indigna theatris / scripta pudet recitare et nugis addere pondus, where, however, nugis, unlike fumo, refers

to the writer's sermones. fumo cannot be understood from Hor. A.P. 143-4 non fumum ex fulgore sed ex fumo dare lucem / cogitat, where the idea is of ordo rather than of style in general: the slightly cryptic opening is superior to the loud and unrestrained one. In Greek, 'smoke' may stand for what is insubstantial and worthless, cf. Aristoph. Nub. 320 περὶ καπνοῦ στενολεσχέειν, Plato, Rep. IX.581D καπνὸν καὶ φλυαρίαν, Lucian, Tim. 1.1 καπνὸς ... ποιητικὸς. If P. is using fumus in this way, the sense of the phrase is that his pagina gives solidity to what has no substance, gives seeming importance to poetic nothingness. However, fumus in this sense has no exact parallel in Latin: the pun at Plaut. Most. 891 oculi dolent ... quia fumus molestust, where fumus means 'empty words', differs from P.'s fumo, which is isolated and not inevitably suggestive of 'nothingness'. The alternative approach is to assume some reference to fire in fumo: perhaps a pagina turgida deserves a fiery fate, cf. Catull. 36.18-20; but dare pondus fumo is not easy Latin for 'to be burned'. The first interpretation is preferable though not certain.

21. secrete A very rare alternative to secreto.

secrete loquimur The words mean either 'you and I are talking privately' or 'I am talking privately', the plural loquimur, like damus and nostrae (22), being a sign of modesty, cf. Hofmann-Szantyr, pp.19f. and the works cited there; P. (together with Cornutus) disdains public literary taste and opinion, cf. e.g. Callim. Epig. 28.4(Pf.) σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ

δημόσια, Catull. 95.9-10 parva mei mihi sint cordi monumenta sodalis, / at populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho, Hor. Sat. I.10.78-91, Carm. III.1.1, Ep. I.20.4-5, Ov. Am. I.15.35 vilia miretur vulgus, Catal. 9.64, P. 1.123-34.

21-2. tibi nunc hortante Camena / excutienda damus praecordia

At the bidding of his Muse, P. gives his praecordia ('heart', 'inmost being') to Cornutus, so that the Stoic praeceptor may examine it. A person's true character lies concealed within him, cf. Hor. Sat. II.1.65 introrsum turpis, P. 3.30 ego te intus et in cute novi, 5.129; also relevant here is the originally Platonic but later widely treated notion that an evil man's soul, if revealed, would appear scarred and disfigured (Dodds on Plato, Gorgias, 524A). P., then, will reveal his inner being to Cornutus in his poetry (hortante Camena); his self-revelation presumably consists not only in the autobiographical passage that follows but in the poem as a whole: by talking about Stoicism, P. shows his moral qualities to his psychological mentor, who will see if correction is needed; see further 25n.

21. tibi To be taken ἀπὸ κοινού with excutienda and damus (22).

22. excutienda A favourite word of P., excutio is used here in the sense of inspicio, examino, cf. 1.49, TLL, V.2.1313.7ff.

praecordia See further 27n.

22-4. For the idea, established in Greek and Latin, of a friend or lover as half of one's soul, cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. Carm. I.3.8 animae dimidium meae. But while amicitia is certainly denoted by P.'s expression (and particularly by dulcis amice), Cornutus occupies a place in P.'s soul not only as a friend but also as a moral praeceptor; these lines complement and expand the foregoing mention of P.'s baring his inner being for Cornutus' evaluation: Cornutus, when he looks into P.'s soul, will find that the close association of the pair has resulted in P.'s wholehearted acceptance of his ethical teachings; see also 27n.

23. Cornute The Stoic L. Annaeus Cornutus, teacher of P. and Lucan, and author of various philosophical and rhetorical works: see von Arnim, R-E, I.2225.39ff., J. Tate, 'Cornutus and the Poets', CQ, 23(1929),41-5.

24. ostendisse The use of the perfect infinitive for the present is very common in Latin poetry and results from metrical considerations, cf. Hofmann-Szantyr, pp.351f.; other such instances in P. are at 1.42, 86, 91, 132, 2.66, 4.7, 17, 5.33, 6.4, 17, 77.

pulsa See 25n.

dinoscere cautus The verb is rare, occurring first in Horace (Ep. I.15.29, II.2.44), once in Ovid, and then a few times in Silver Latin. cautus is a complimentary epithet, cf. Cic. Att.

XIV.14.2 qui se cautos ac sapientes putant; its combination with an infinitive is found first at Hor. Sat. I.6.51, next here, and elsewhere only in Claudian.

25. quid solidum crepet et pictae tectoria linguae The metaphor, begun in pulsa (24), is of knocking a wall to discover if the sound indicates solidity or emptiness; for a similar metaphor, cf. 3.21-2 sonat vitium percussa, maligne / respondet viridi non cocta fidelia limo. The essential contrast here is between a solid wall and a covering of plaster; tectorium, 'stucco-work', occurs elsewhere in verse only at Plaut. Mil. 18 and Juv. 6.467. Up to tectoria, the sense is quite straightforward, but linguae is $\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\chi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\nu$. Conington takes pictae ... linguae as an objective genitive, explaining pictae tectoria linguae as 'quod tegit pictam linguam'; this view yields nonsense. pictae ... linguae may rather be a subjective genitive, i.e. 'plasterings made by decorated expressions', or, perhaps better, a kind of epexegetic genitive (Hofmann-Szantyr, pp.62ff.), 'plasterings consisting in decorated expressions'. Opposed to quid solidum crepet, tectoria suggests a veneer of solidity and pictae an artificial surface attractiveness. Being couched in general terms, the line admits of more than a single application. Its fundamental reference is to the testing of P.'s soul: P. exposes his inner self to Cornutus for moral examination (21-4), since that Stoic has the ability to diagnose the genuine and the sham. In addition, however, P. reveals himself by what he says (cf. linguae), specifically in his poetry (21): Cornutus is thus called upon

to distinguish real moral convictions from what is mere lip-service by inspecting P.'s poetry. The moral evaluation of P.'s soul is therefore closely associated with a moral examination of his writings; the latter clearly involves content, since what P. says will show his attitude of mind; but also at issue is poetic style: an ornate and artificial mode of expression implies an attempt to overlay what lacks substance and is itself a mark of worthlessness; quid solidum crepet, on the other hand, suggests both inner worth and simplicity of expression.

26-9. P. refers to the start of the poem, the meaningless hundred-mouth formula adopted by tragedians and epic poets to show their alleged difficulty of expression. He too would like a hundred mouths, but for the purpose of revealing what is truly difficult to express, namely his profound commitment to Cornutus' teachings and friendship.

26. centenas ... fauces For the distributive, see 6n. fauces is not a traditional word in the formula, and its use here may correspond to P.'s unique application of the motif.

ausim deprecere ausim acknowledges the cliché, and the prosaic deprecere tones it down still further: deposco is found very frequently in Cicero, Livy and Suetonius but, with the exception of Silius, hardly at all in Augustan and Silver verse.

27. quantum mihi te ... in pectore fixi te clearly refers to Cornutus as both amicus and praeceptor (cf. 22-4n.). The pectus is often said to take in instruction, cf. e.g. Lucil. 610(M) tu si voles per aures pectus inrigarier, Hor. Sat. II.4.90, Ep. I.2.67-8; moreover, a person admits a friend into his pectus, cf. e.g. Sen. Ep. 8.2. fixi 'expresses depth and permanence' (Conington).

sinuoso in pectore sinuosus is first used by Virgil (Georg. I.244, Aen. XI.753, both with reference to snakes), and recurs in Propertius, Ovid and Silver epic. Virgil bases his application of sinuosus on sinus meaning 'coil' (cf. e.g. Cic. N.D. II.106, Ov. Met. XV.689, 721), and later instances of the epithet tend to be influenced by this usage. However, at Prop. IV.1.15, sinuosa ... vela, the sense of the word is derived from sinus meaning 'fold' of a garment or cloth. Perhaps because of this apparent pliancy of sinuosus, commentators take P.'s sinuoso to mean 'recessed' after sinus in the sense of 'recess, inmost part' (cf. Sall. Cat. 52.35, Cic. Verr. V.96). This may be a possible interpretation, but something more looks to be intended here. praecordia (22) may mean not only 'inmost heart' but also 'entrails', cf. Plin. N.H. XXX.42 praecordia vocamus uno nomine exta in homine. arcana ... fibra is similarly ambiguous: as at 1.47, fibra may be used without any particular physical associations to denote the seat of feelings; fibra also very commonly means a lobe of the liver or lung, or, more generally, 'entrails' (Pease on Cic. Div. I.16). sinuoso ... pectore is probably

meant to be taken in the same way, and, although sinus is apparently not used for 'entrails', the whole phrase 'in my coiled breast' may be thought to convey such a notion. When these various alternative meanings are considered, it emerges that P. is exposing his entrails for Cornutus to examine, since he has planted in them Cornutus' friendship and philosophy. The references are evidently to extispicy, but it is impossible to find anything logical in them: P., after all, is not actually disembowelling himself on Cornutus' account. It would seem that P. is indulging an incongruous humour even in this serious passage.

28. voce ... pura Commentators note the contrast with pictae ... linguae (25): P.'s language should be such as not to overlay content.

traham Elliptically used to mean 'express' and apparently based on the type of locution found at Virg. Aen. I.375 imoque trahens a pectore vocem.

verba resignent The verb is rare, and its most usual application is to unsealing letters or wills, cf. Plaut. Trin. 794, Cic. Att. XI.9.2, Hor. Ep. I.7.9, Mart. IX.35.5; but for P.'s sense of 'reveal', cf. Ov. Fast. VI.535 venientia fata resigna. There is a hint of extispicy here: P.'s words will 'open up' everything in his heart (27n.).

29. latet The word reinforces the theme of P.'s deep conviction and difficulty of expression. A form of esse or of one of its compounds would have yielded acceptable sense here, but P. prefers a more emotive and picturesque verb, cf. e.g. 3.73 putet, 5.31 pependit, 163 obstem, 183 natat.

arcana ... fibra See 27n.

non enarrabile On enarrabili at Quint. XII.10.76, Austin says, 'This (rare) adjective is always used with a negative or quasi-negative: so VI.3.6 (with nescio an). TLL quotes besides only Virg. Aen. VIII.625 (with non), Sen. Ep. 121.10 (with vix), P. 5.29 (with non).' The word is classed as a Virgilian coinage by A. Cordier, Études sur le vocabulaire épique dans l'Énéide (Paris, 1939), p.144, and P. may intend some elevation of tone by its use.

30-51. The relationship between P. and his tutor is depicted as an especially intimate one: P. earlier addresses Cornutus as dulcis amice (23); the imagery at 36-7 implies more than amicitia; the pair's constant companionship during both work and recreation is strongly emphasised (41-4); and in the climactic astrological passage (45-51), their closeness is attributed to the influence of universal forces. This approach, together with the flattering description of Cornutus' skill as a teacher (37-40), may strike the modern reader as excessively sentimental and effusive: see, for example, Nisbet, 'Persius', p.61. However, the tutor-pupil relationship about this time

seems to have been a rather more involved and emotional one than can be readily appreciated today. As Nettleship observes, there are some similarities between this passage and Cic. Fam. XVI.21.3, where the young Marcus Cicero describes his association with the philosopher Cratippus: compare 36-7 with Cratippo me, scito, non ut discipulum, sed ut filium esse coniunctissimum; compare 41-2 with sum totos dies cum eo, noctisque saepenumero partem; compare 44 with saepe inscientibus nobis et cenantibus obrepat sublataque severitate philosophiae humanissime nobiscum iocatur. But a more definite and widespread notion probably underlies what P. is saying, particularly at 41-4, namely that of contubernium. It was established practice for young Romans of the senatorial order to begin their careers in the contubernium of a general, governor, etc., to be, that is, personal staff, attached to him day to day if not literally sharing the same quarters; the idea was presumably that the incipient general would benefit from close contact with seniority and experience; this attitude to contubernium exists originally and to a large extent in the military sphere, cf. Cic. Planc. 27, Cael. 73, Sall. Iug. 64.4, Liv. XLII.11.7, Tac. Agr. 5.1, Suet. Iul. 2, Leonhard, R-E, IV.1165.18ff.; but contubernium also comes to denote the close contact experienced among friends and by pupils with their teachers, cf. Tac. Dial. 5.2 neminem mihi coniunctiorem esse et usu amicitiae et assiduitate contubernii quam Saleium Bassum, Plin. Ep. IV.19.6 nec aliud decet tuis manibus educatam, tuis praeceptis institutam, quae nihil in contubernio tuo viderit nisi sanctum honestumque; and the

aspiring philosopher, taking advantage of contubernium, may model himself on or at least be greatly influenced by his teacher, cf. Sen. Ep. 6.6 Zenonem Cleanthes non expressisset, si tantummodo audisset: vitae eius interfuit, secreta perspexit, observavit illum, an ex formula sua viveret. Platon et Aristoteles et omnis in diversum itura sapientium turba plus ex moribus quam ex verbis traxit; Metrodorum et Hermarchum et Polyaeum magnos viros non schola Epicuri sed contubernium fecit. So P. too, having entered the contubernium of a philosopher, lives closely and constantly with Cornutus in order to learn both his precepts and his way of life. What of P.'s flattery of Cornutus and the sustained astrological explanation of their relationship? Any effusiveness on P.'s part here pales by comparison with the fulsomeness displayed in the letters of Fronto to Marcus Aurelius and vice versa, cf. Fronto, ad M. Caes. II.2 (Van den Hout), III.10, 20, IV.1, etc.; how sincere such shows of mutual adulation are is uncertain, but they provide evidence of a sort concerning the Romans' attitude to the tutor-pupil relationship; also relevant are Marcus Aurelius' statements of his debt to various teachers and older friends in the first book of his Meditations. P.'s attitude to his former tutor may be considered traditional and restrained.

30. pavido The epithet has considerable poetic colour: it is first found frequently in Virgil, and then in Ovid, Lucan, Seneca's tragedies and Silius; of six occurrences in Horace, only one is in his hexameters, at Sat. II.6.113, part of the

mock-elevated section of the fable; and of two instances in Martial, Sp. 22.1 pavidus ... magistri looks like parodic transference of an epic expression (Virg. Aen. XII.717, Luc. II.696); among artistic prose writers, Caesar proscribes pavidus, Cicero has it once (in verse, at N.D. III.73), Livy and Tacitus greatly favour it; it is rare elsewhere in Silver prose. For its meaning here, see next note.

custos ... purpura purpura is commonly found pars pro toto for toga praetexta: commentators refer to Cic. Cluent. 40, Hor. Epod. 5.7, Juv. 11.155. The toga praetexta, a white toga with a purple hem, was worn by free-born boys until they assumed the toga virilis or pura, usually between the ages of fourteen and sixteen (Heichelheim, R-E, VIA.1659.65ff.). For the placing of boys in the care of custodes, cf. Plaut. Merc. 91-2, Pseud. 865, Hor. Sat. I.4.118-19, 6.81-2, A.P. 161; here the toga praetexta is seen as custos, being 'the symbol of sanctity', as Conington puts it: he compares Plin. N.H. IX.127 fasces huic (i.e. purpurae) seculares Romanae viam faciunt: idemque pro maiestate pueritiae est, ps.-Quint. Declam. 340 (p.345 Ritter) sacrum praetextarum, quo sacerdotes velantur, quo magistratus, quo infirmitatem pueritiae sacram facimus ac venerabilem. However, Conington's view of custos ... purpura fails to cohere with his remarks on pavidus: 'not "timid on entering into life" (Lubin), nor "fearful, and therefore requiring protection" (Casaubon, Jahn), but "trembling under those who watched over me", quod sub metu paedagogorum praetextati sunt, as the scholia say'. The

incompatibility of his two views on custos ... purpura and pavido is brought out in his translation, 'when first the guardianship of the purple ceased to awe me': this takes into account only his interpretation of pavido, while custos ... purpura is now thought to be not protective but oppressive. pavido understood as metuenti paedagogos is unacceptable for a number of reasons. In the first place, it gives rise to intolerable syntax: the epithet would have to be taken as anterior in time to cessit, not as coincidental with it, i.e. 'when the purple was removed from me who had been afraid'; it is easier and much more natural to understand the removal of the purpura as occasioning P.'s fear. Moreover, the toga praetexta cannot reasonably be thought to frighten, as Conington himself shows, since, like the bullae (31), it is a customary protection of youth. Finally, pavido in the sense of 'afraid at losing boyhood protection' is strongly supported not only by particular phrases such as trepidus ... mentes (35) and teneros ... annos (36) but by the tone of the whole passage: P. is relinquishing the tokens of boyhood and beginning his self-reliant period of life; he finds himself faced with temptation and a growing moral crisis, and therefore seeks the protection of a wise Stoic. pavido is cryptic and remains undefined until 32ff. Translate 30, 'when, to my fear, the guardian purple was removed from me'. The notion contained in pavido and the lines following is the widespread one of youth as a morally vulnerable time of life, cf. Hor. Sat. I.4.116-21, A.P. 163, Quint. II.2.3, Plin. Ep. III.3.4, Tac. Ann. XIII.2.2, etc.

cessit i.e. remota est, cf. Ov. Fast. III.142 cedit ab Iliacis laurea cana focis, Luc. III.107 vacuaeque loco cessere curules.

31. bullae An ornament worn round the neck by children of free birth, the bullae is partly meant to avert undesirable influences (Macrob. Sat. I.6.9) but more especially is a token of boyhood, cf. Fest. 32(L.) bullae aureae insigne erat puerorum praetextatorum, quae dependebat eis a pectore, ut significaretur eam aetatem alterius regendam consilio; like the toga praetexta, it is given up at the coming of age, cf. Prop. IV.1.131-2 mox ubi bullae rudi dimissa est aurea collo, / matris et ante deos libera sumpta toga.

subcinctis Laribus donata For the adjective, Jahn compares Ov. Fast. II.634 nutriat incinctos missa patella Lares, where Bömer remarks, 'In zahlreichen bildlichen Darstellungen begegnen die Laren als Tänzer mit kurzer, gegürteter Toga'. For the consecration of bullae to the Lares, cf. Porph. on Hor. Sat. I.5.65 generosis pueris, qui bullam auream egressi pueritiae annos apud Lares solent suspendere.

pendit A vivid alternative to an expected form of esse (29n.).

32. cum blandi comites The expression is difficult because blandus has numerous semantic facets and comites here is ambiguous. Jahn says, 'qui puerum sub severa custodia tenuerunt, adulto iam blandi fuerunt'; he understands comites

as moral guardians or praeceptores (P. 3.7, Mart. XI.39.2, Suet. Tib. 12.2) and presumably takes blandi in its commonly used sense of 'pleasant, ingratiating'. But 'when my tutors made themselves pleasant' is a feeble sentiment: it makes no reference to what precedes or follows and is clearly out of place in such a highly charged passage. Bo paraphrases blandus as 'facilis, obsequens, indulgens, sim.', i.e. 'when my tutors were compliant, no longer attempted to exercise moral restraint over me'; this admirably suits what immediately follows (see next note) and P.'s surrender of the tokens of boyhood; blandus meaning 'indulgent' is rare, but an instance of it may be Sil. XVII.81 blando nimium faciliq̄ue marito. The alternative is to understand comites in the broad sense of 'companions, friends', and blandi as 'coaxing, enticing' (Cic. N.D. I.77 blanda conciliatrix et quasi ... lena, Hor. Sat. I.1.25 blandi doctores): the words take on from what follows the idea of his friends encouraging P. in vice. But it is difficult to be certain which, if either, of these interpretations is correct. There is a third possibility: that blandi comites, together with candidus umbo (33), is the grammatical subject of permisit (33); in which case, blandi comites must mean 'indulgent guardians' for permisit to make sense; but then the word order becomes awkward and unnatural, blandi comites being rather isolated in the construction.

totaque inpune Subura The juxtaposition of tota and inpune emphasises the scope of P.'s newly acquired freedom. Jahn

mentions the thriving trade of prostitutes in the Subura, citing Mart. VI.66, XI.61, 78.11-12; cf. also Mart. II.17, Priap. 40. For P.'s thought, Casaubon compares Prop. III. 15.3-4 ut mihi praetexti pudor est velatus amictus / et data libertas noscere amoris iter. For the sexual temptations of youth, cf. Hor. Sat. I.4.113-15 ne sequerer moechas concessa cum venere uti / possem, 'deprensi non bella est fama Treboni' / aiebat, Juv. 14.45-6 procul, a procul inde puellae / lenonum.

33. permisit As Conington notes, the verb reflects the idea of the toga libera, an apparently poetical alternative to toga virilis or pura, cf. Prop. IV.1.132, Ov. Fast. III.771, Trist. IV.10.28

sparsisse oculos For the perfect infinitive, see 24n. Jahn and others compare the expression with Val.Flacc. V.247-8 tua nunc terris, tua lumina toto / sparge mari, but the comparison is spurious since lumina refers to the light of the sun, Valerius' expression consisting merely in a slight variation on the poetical locutions found at Lucr. II.1144, Virg. Aen. IV. 584, XII.113-14, etc. spargo oculos seems rather to be P.'s own contribution to numerous cognate Latin phrases, such as Lucr. IV.1139 iactare oculos, Cic. Cluent. 54 oculi coniciebantur, Virg. Aen. II.570 oculos per cuncta ferenti, Ov. Met. III.381 aciem partis dimittit in omnes, VI.169 oculos circumtulit; however, spargo is such an unusual verb in these expressions that its literal sense by no means disappears here but instead renders P.'s collocation harsh and incongruous.

candidus umbo A striking expression: candidus is very infrequently applied to the toga virilis, while the use of umbo, the band-like fold of the toga across the breast (Tertull. Pall. 5), pars pro toto for toga is seemingly without parallel. Not only is the phrase expressive in itself, it is also emphatic by position, and may be designed to highlight the explicit notion that the source of P.'s freedom is not moral maturity but a change of dress (36n.).

34. cumque iter ambiguum est The metaphor of the path of life is extremely common in both Greek and Latin, cf. Plato, Apol. 40E, 41A, Lucr. II.10, Cic. Sest. 140, Off. I.118, Hor. Ep. I.17.26, 18.103, A.P. 404, Sen. Benef. III.31.5, Ep. 8.3, Juv. 7.172, etc.; see further 35n. ambiguus is a fairly elevated word: it is freely admitted by Virgil, Ovid, Seneca's tragedies and Silver epic, and, if the adverbial phrase in ambiguo is discounted, it occurs only once in Horace's hexameters (A.P. 449, of poetic style), once in Juvenal, and not at all in Martial; its principal representatives in prose are Livy and Tacitus; Caesar avoids ambiguus, while Cicero uses it only occasionally, applying it mostly to literary style. For the tense of est, see 35n.

vitae nescius error P.'s moral insufficiency, hinted at in 30-3, is made clear, though with reference to youth in general (35n.). nescius with a genitive is probably poetical, occurring first in Catull. 68.17 and then in Horace's Odes, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Seneca's tragedies, Statius, Martial and Tacitus;

Martial's single use of the construction (IX.84.6) is found in a serious and dignified poem. For error, commentators compare Lucr. II.10 errare atque viam palantis quaerere vitae, Hor. Sat. II.3.48-9 velut silvis, ubi passim / palantis error certo de tramite pellit.

35. diducit For the tense, see next note.

trepidas ... mentes The epithet is similar in tone to the poetical pavido (30): it is very common to Virgil, Ovid and Silver epic, but much rarer in the lower genres; it is avoided by Caesar and Cicero, and greatly favoured by the poeticizing historians. The reason for the change of tense in 34-5 may be gathered from trepidas ... mentes: it is highly unlikely that this phrase refers to P. specifically, since the earliest instances of the plural mentes applied to one person are found in Apuleius and Tertullian, cf. TLL, VIII.737.53ff., where, however, some of the alleged examples are far from certain; in 34-5, P. is making a general observation on youth's moral crisis, and this move away from the particular is accompanied by a change of tense.

ramosa The rare adjective is found only here in the lower poetic genres and occurs once in artistic prose, at Liv. XXXIII.5.6 ramosas arbores; this basic meaning is attached to ramosus also at Lucr. V.1096, Ov. Met. VIII.237 (if the text is sound), Fast. III.75, A.A. III.149; the epithet is used in a transferred sense, as in P., at Lucr. VI.133-4

ramosa ... / nubila, Virg. Ecl. 7.30 ramosa ... cornua cervi, Ov. Met. IX.73, Stat. Theb. IV.168 (the last two of the Hydra's heads); the instances of ramosus at Prop. IV.4.5, 7.81 do not readily admit of classification since the word is given totally new meanings.

ramosa in compita The usual Latin words for the path of life are iter, via and cursus; P.'s metaphorical application of compita has no definite parallel before Tertullian.

ramosa ... compita (together with iter ambiguum) is a reference to what became known as the Pythagorean Y. The idea of two paths in life, the difficult path of virtue and the easy one of vice, is found first in Hes. Op. 287-92 τὴν μὲν τοι κακότητα καὶ ἰλαδὸν ἔστιν ἐλέσθαι / ῥηιδίως· λείη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθει ναίει· / τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρωῖτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν / ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἴμος ἐς αὐτὴν / καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηαι, / ῥηιδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ ἑοῦσα. The passage was a famous one, to judge from mentions of it in Xen. Mem. II.1.20, Plato, Rep. II.364D, Laws, IV.718E; cf. also the beginning of Prodicus' tale at Xen. Mem. II.1.21 ἐπεὶ ἐκ παιδῶν εἰς ἥβην ὠρμᾶτο (sc. ὁ Ἑρακλῆς), ἐν ἧ οἱ νέοι ἤδη αὐτοκράτορες γιγνόμενοι δηλοῦσιν εἴτε τὴν δι' ἀρετῆς ὁδὸν τρέψονται ἐπὶ τὸν βίον εἴτε τὴν διὰ κακίας. But it is only in Latin that the two paths of life are found related to the letter Y, the symbolic application of which is in turn attributed to Pythagoras, cf. P. 3.56-7, Schol. ad l., Lact. Div.Inst. VI.3.6ff., Auson. V.11.4-5

(ed. Peiper, p.61), XII.13.9 (ed. Peiper, p.166), Serv. on Virg. Aen. VI.136, Mart.Cap. II.102, Anth.Lat. 632 (Riese), Isid. I.3.7 Y litteram Pythagoras Samius ad exemplum vitae humanae primus formavit; cuius virgula subterior primam aetatem significat, incertam quippe et quae adhuc se nec vitiis nec virtutibus dedit; bivium autem, quod superest, ab adolescentia incipit: cuius dextra pars ardua est, sed ad beatam vitam tendens; sinistra faciliior, sed ad labem interitumque deducens, Jahn on P. 3.56-7, W. Schultz, 'Herakles am Scheidewege', Philologus, 68(1909), 488-99. In P., the idea of the availability and openness of the vicious path is provided by 32-3.

36. me tibi supposui Conington says, 'supponere is used of suppositious children, and of eggs placed under a hen, the common notion being that of introducing a person or thing into a place ready for it, but not belonging to it'; for suppono in respect of children, cf. e.g. Plaut. Cist. 136, 553, Truc. 404, 804, Ter. Eun. 39, 912, Liv. III.44.9. The metaphor is unusual in that P. is said to achieve his own suppositio, which perhaps points to his lack of senior guidance at this time. This main clause, compared with the multiple subordinate clause (30-5), is remarkably brief, and, through its unexpected brevity, gains in emphasis and force; the structure is essentially the same as that used so notably by Juvenal for bathetic effect, though its purpose in P. is different; for this type of sentence arrangement, cf. Marouzeau, Traité, pp.297ff.

teneros ... annos '(The phrase) is not equivalent to me tenera aetate, as the words are not used literally of actual infancy, but metaphorically of the infancy of judgement which belongs to youth' (Conington). In fact, the two ideas coalesce in the words: by teneros ... annos, together with supposui, suscipis and Socratico ... sinu (37), P. pictures himself as a helpless child and Cornutus as a protecting father; the further implication is that P., although now in possession of the tokens of manhood, is still a boy morally: for the thought, cf. Sen. Ep. 4.2 tenes utique memoria quantum senseris gaudium cum praetexta posita sumpsisti virilem togam et in forum deductus es: maius expecta cum puerilem animum deposueris et te in viros philosophia transscripserit; see also following notes.

suscipis Jahn says of the verb, 'quod patres fecerunt, qui liberos agnoscebant', and compares Ter. Andr. 401; Conington, following Jahn, cites Cic. Att. XI.9.3 haec ad te die natali meo scripsi, quo utinam susceptus non essem; tollo is the more usual verb for the custom, but suscipio often appears as an alternative. However, a number of factors invalidate the traditional interpretation of suscipis in P. To begin with, the father's action of lifting up his child took place immediately after the child's birth, and there is no question in this passage of P. representing himself as a new-born child; further, P. does not picture himself as Cornutus' own child but as a suppositious one; in addition, the custom mentioned by Jahn vanished before the Empire (Buckland, A Text-book of

Roman Law, p.102); finally, tollo and suscipio, when appearing as technical terms, are not qualified, and suscipio sinu looks to be a perfectly natural, non-technical expression for 'take into one's protection'.

37. Socratico ... sinu Jahn says the epithet indicates Socrates' especial concern with youth; this may be so, for Socraticus can mean 'of Socrates', 'like Socrates', 'Socratic', etc. (according to the context), cf. e.g. Cic. Rep.I.16 leporem Socraticum subtilitatemque sermonis, Ov. Ibis, 494 ut qui Socraticum de nece legit opus; then Cornutus is Socraticus because he takes the youthful P. into his care. But Socraticus has other shades of meaning: it may denote 'in the Socratic tradition', 'belonging to the Socratic kind of philosophy', cf. Cic. Off. I.104 philosophorum Socraticorum, Hor. Carm. I.29.14 libros Panaeti Socraticam et domum; Socraticus can also be used with reference to neither Socrates himself nor his philosophy, but simply to ethical philosophy very generally without any school being specified, cf. Hor. Carm. III.21.9-10 Socraticis madet / sermonibus, A.P. 310 Socraticae ... chartae, Prop. II.34.27 Socraticis ... libris (with Enk's note), Brink, Prolegomena, p.131, n.1. None of these meanings can easily be excluded from Socratico ... sinu: the expression suggests Cornutus' twin roles of protecting father and philosophical teacher, an identification which answers to the parallel drawn between P.'s youth and moral inexperience.

fallere sollers The construction of sollers with an infinitive is found first in Hor. Carm. IV.8.8, and occurs elsewhere at Ov. Am. II.7.17, P. 6.24, Stat. Theb. II.345 and three times in Silius. P.'s expression apparently denotes the subtle inculcation of Stoicism by Cornutus.

38. This verse and 47 are 'golden' lines; 40 has a similar construction, except that its adjectives and nouns are distributed chiastically. Is P. using these word-patterns consciously for some effect? There is no doubt that Horace does so in his hexameters: on the 'golden' line, L.P. Wilkinson, Golden Latin Artistry (Cambridge, 1963), p.216, says, 'Horace reserved its monumental quality for special purposes', and points to Sat. II.2.136, 6.103-4; cf. also Ep. II.2.74. A more sweeping view of the chiastic type of 'golden' line is expressed by Marouzeau, Traité, pp.320f.: 'Cette disposition ... convient particulièrement ... à l'expression d'une grande idée, d'un sentiment puissant, d'un tableau majestueux'. This opinion fails to account for such lines as P. 5.117, 6.72 cum morosa vago singultiet inguine vena, and many others, and can have no more than partial and occasional validity since 'golden' lines and related word-patterns may occur as much from chance as from purpose. It may be that in this passage P. is aiming at a slight elevation of style and a sense of seriousness by the accumulation of certain noun-adjective distributions, but such a possibility is quite incapable of absolute proof.

intortos ... mores intortus in the moral sense of 'crooked' is unparalleled before late Latin and much more expressive than the usual curvus (e.g. Hor. Ep. II.2.44, P. 3.52, 4.12) and pravus (e.g. Hor. Sat. II.2.52, 7.8). See also next note.

extendit regula For the rarity of regula in verse, cf. Axelson, Unp. Wörter, p.102. The noun is used here in two senses. On the one hand, regula is an ethical rule or criterion, cf. e.g. Cic. Brut. 152, N.D. I.43, Hor. Sat. I.3.118, Mart. XI.2.3; then P.'s words mean 'the ethical rule corrects my corrupt morals'. But because of extendit ('makes straight') and the highly expressive intortos, regula also suggests the rule used by masons, carpenters and other artificers for drawing straight lines, cf. Plin. N.H. XXXVI.188, Hug, R-E, IA. 510.7ff; and the alternative translation is 'the rule straightens my crooked morals'. The sustained ambiguity in intortos, extendit and regula gives new life to the habitually laconic identification of straight and crooked with right and wrong.

39. premitur ratione animus vincique laborat Conington remarks on premitur, 'Jahn well compares Virg. Aen. VI.80 fingitque premando, so that the word prepares us for the image of moulding in the next line'. This interpretation of the Virgilian expression is very much open to doubt. Examples abound of fingo applied to moulding but not of premo. fingo may also mean 'train', being used with reference to the intellect (e.g. Cic. de Or. III.58, Hor. Carm. III.6.22, A.P. 367) and to horses,

cf. Hor. Ep. I.2.64 fingit equum tenera docilem cervice magister;
terga premo is commonly used of riding a horse (e.g. Ov. Met.
 VI.223, VIII.34, Fast. II.12, 784) and habenas premo of curbing
 it (Virg. Aen. I.63, XI.600); Virgil's use of premo at Aen.
 VI.80 is understandable in the light of the above instances
 and also from what immediately precedes it, fera corda domans,
 and denotes the restraining of what is wild and unbridled;
 'quasi equom' is rightly added in TLL, VI.1.773.54f. as an
 explanation of Virgil's image. As a result, can premitur
 reasonably be said to foreshadow the metaphor in 40? If it
 is assumed that the sense of 40 reflects back on this line,
 P.'s words may be made to bear the meaning, 'my mind is pressed
 by reason'. Nevertheless, premitur remains an unemotive and
 colourless word, suggestive of no particular image. Further,
vincique laborat has nothing to do with the following line, but
 implies the wholly different idea of a rebellious soul
 (though one willing to be brought under control). In which
 case, premitur, if taken closely with vincique laborat, may
 have the same sense as in Virg. Aen. VI.80: P.'s animus is a
 wild, unruly horse that needs to be tamed; this would be
 similar to the Platonic comparison of the soul to a charioteer
 and two horses, one of them noble and good, the other precisely
 the opposite (Phaedr. 246B); the recalcitrant member of the
 team must be well schooled if the chariot is to reach its
 celestial goal (Phaedr. 247B). But, like the idea of moulding,
 this image is by no means explicit in 39: domo, not vinco, is
 used of taming horses, the nearest approach to a parallel of
vinco so used being Virg. Aen. XII.568 ni frenum accipere et

victi parere fatentur. It seems as if the two ideas of moulding and taming are blended in 39 without either of them being made at all clear. The line is considerably less straightforward than the two definite images between which it stands.

vincique laborat The construction of laboro with an infinitive (also at P.2.17) is recorded earliest in Lucil. 349-50(M.) labora / discere, and used frequently by Horace in his hexameters, Ovid, Martial and Silver epic; it is avoided by all writers of artistic prose except Cicero, who has it very occasionally and always in the negative (e.g. T.D. I.112, Att. V.2.2). P.'s expression is an oxymoron, opposite in thought to Hor. Sat. I.1.112 superare laboret and, as Conington notes, flattering to the pupil P.

40. For the noun-epithet distribution of the line, see 38n.

The imagery of wax and clay moulding applied to mind and character is known in Greek (e.g. Plato, Rep. II.377C κλάττειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν τοῖς μύθοις, Laws, I.633D) and widespread in Latin, cf. e.g. Hor. Ep. II.2.8 argilla quidvis imitaberis uda, A.P. 163 cereus in vitium flecti (iuvenis), P. 3.23-4, Plin. Ep. VII.9.11, Juv. 7.237-8 exigite ut mores teneros ceu pollice ducat, / ut si quis cera voltum facit.

artificem ... voltum 'skilfully fashioned features': artifex as a passive adjective is used first at Prop. II.31.8 artifices.

vivida signa, boves, next here, and then occasionally elsewhere in Silver Latin (Tränkle, Sprachkunst, p.77).

pollice The thumb is often mentioned in the context of moulding, cf. Ov. Met. VIII.198, X.285, Stat. Ach. I.332, Juv. 7.237.

ducit The vox propria for the shaping carried out by the artist, cf. Virg. Aen. VI.848 vivos ducent de marmore voltus, Hor. Ep. II.1.240-1 aut alius Lysippo duceret aera / fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia, Quint. X.5.9 velut eadem cera aliae aliaeque formae duci solent; the object of duco so used may be either the worked substance or the shape formed from it. Here, however, duco denotes the taking on of shape by the moulded animus, a much rarer usage though paralleled at Ov. Met. I.400-2 saxa ... / ... coepere ... / ... ducere formam.

41. longos memini consumere soles Reminiscent of Virg. Ecl. 9.51-2 saepe ego longos / cantando puerum memini me condere soles, which is itself an imitation of Callim. Epig. 2.2-3 (Pf.) ἐμνήσθην δ' ὀσοάκις ἀμφότεροι / ἥλιον λείσχη κατεδύσαμεν. P. retains Virgil's longos / ... soles but replaces condere, 'cause to set', by consumere: the resultant consumere soles is quite different in sense from Virgil's expression, soles in P. meaning dies as opposed to noctes (42), cf. Virg. Aen. III.203-4 tris adeo incertos caeca caligine soles / erramus pelago, totidem sine sidere noctes, Luc. V.25, Sil. III.554.

41-2. memini consumere ... / et ... decerpere 'Recall doing something' is regularly expressed in Latin by memini with an

accusative and present or perfect infinitive; it is only in a very few places, listed at TLL, VIII.652.15ff., that memini with an infinitive and no accusative is found in this sense: they include P. 5.41-2 and Prol. 2-3 *nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso / memini*. Do any valid parallels exist for P.'s constructions? For memini with a perfect infinitive, they do not: the best attested reading at Sen. Clem. II.1.1, *quam (sc. vocem) ego non sine admiratione et cum diceretur audisse memini et deinde aliis narrasse*, looks very like haplography in view of both the variant *audisse me memini* and Sen. Prov. 5.5 *hanc quoque animosam Demetri fortissimi viri vocem audisse me memini*; much the same applies to Plin. Ep. II.14.9 *ita certe ex Quintiliano, praeceptore meo, audisse memini*, where the variant *audisse me memini* is adopted in Mynors' text (Oxford, 1963). This leaves P. Prol. 2-3 in isolation. What of memini with a present infinitive? At Ter. Andr. 428-9, most MSS. read *ego illam vidi; virginem forma bona / memini videre*, but most editors prefer the alternative reading *memini videri*, which gives much smoother sense and invalidates a possible parallel to P. 5.41-2; as for the transmitted reading of Plaut. Epid. 540, *certo east quam in Epidauro pauperulam memini comprimere*, this is a difficult line as the metre is uncertain and there may be a lacuna after *certo east*, and consequently editors read it differently; a passage over which so much doubt hangs cannot reasonably be adduced as a parallel to P.'s construction. In the absence of firm parallels, should P.'s text be altered? The answer is no. To begin with, it is impossible to insert me convincingly in

5.41; further, 5.41-2 and Prol. 2-3 may be considered to support each other; finally, P.'s constructions, while perhaps unique in archaic, Augustan and Silver Latin, are probably founded on analogies, such as credo with an infinitive and no accusative (TLL, IV.1142.4ff.).

42. primas epulis decerpere noctes The avoidance of excessive pleasure is denoted by primas ... noctes; while the nature of epulis, a word with various connotations, is made clear by verecunda ... mensa (44). The literal meaning of decerpo is 'pluck off', cf. Prop. I.20.39 (lilia) decerpens tenero pueriliter ungui, Ov. Fast. V.255 decerpsi pollice florem; in P., it has the transferred sense of 'take, pluck so as to enjoy', cf. e.g. Catull. 68.127 oscula ... decerpere, Hor. Sat. I.2.79 ex re decerpere fructum, Quint. XII.10.79 omnia sponte proveniunt: quae ... nisi decerpantur, arescunt; P.'s highly unusual application of decerpo to time is inspired by Hor. Carm. I.11.8 carpe diem (15ln.).

43. The sense of the line is not immediately obvious. Jahn understands unam requiem from unum opus and explains, 'unum opus et unam requiem pariter disponimus ambo'. This is indeed possible, but P.'s words become more meaningful and precise if unum is predicative (cf. e.g. Hor. A.P. 8-9 ut nec pes nec caput uni / reddatur formae), Jahn's unam requiem being retained though for a different grammatical function: a literal translation now runs, 'we arrange alike our work, so that it is one, and our rest, so that it is one'.

For P.'s thought, Casaubon compares Virg. Georg. IV.184
omnibus una quies operum, labor omnibus unus.

opus et requiem ... disponimus Neither opus dispono nor
requiem dispono is exactly paralleled, though otium dispono
and the like are common, cf. e.g. Sen. Brev.Vit. 16.3 quomodo
id (i.e. otium) disponant, Mart. V.20.3 disponere tempus
otiorum, Plin. Ep. IV.23.1 disponere otium; it is unlikely
that opus et requiem ... disponimus is a zeugma, since opus
dispono may be explained by such locutions as philosophia vitam
disponit (Sen. Ep. 16.3) and diem disponam (Plin. Ep. IX.36.1).

ambo The redundant pronoun emphasises the closeness of
teacher and pupil.

44. verecunda ... mensa The pair's relaxation is tempered
with frugality and moderation; it is not only by formal tuition
that P. learns how to live (30-51n.).

laxamus seria For laxo in the sense of levo or remitto, cf.
Virg. Aen. IX.225 laxabant curas, Liv. IX.16.15 laxaret aliquid
laboris.

45-51. To judge from literature and inscriptions, astrology
was considerably more fashionable during the first century A.D.
than earlier and continued to flourish throughout the time
of the Empire, cf. W. and H.G. Gundel, Astrologumena: Die
astrologische Literatur in der Antike und ihre Geschichte

(Wiesbaden, 1966), pp.140ff. Astrology probably influences P. both as an important aspect of the contemporary cultural scene and as a part of Stoic belief: with the sole exception of Panaetius (Cic. Div. II.88), the Stoic philosophers championed astrology because it corroborated their doctrines of εἰμαρμένη and συμπάθεια τῶν ὄλων (Riess, R-E, II.1813.10ff.), their faith in 'la solidarité de toutes les parties de l'univers, la ressemblance de la fraction au tout, le parenté de l'homme avec le monde, du feu intelligent qui l'anime avec les astres d'où est descendue pour lui l'étincelle de vie, les affinités du corps humain avec les éléments dans lesquels il plonge et qui subissent l'influence des grands régulateurs célestes, la théorie du microcosme' (A. Bouché-Leclercq, L'Astrologie Grecque (Paris, 1899), p.572). P. is also influenced by the astrological passage at Hor. Carm. II.17.15ff., which is linguistically very similar: Housman, CQ, 7(1913), 19, notes in Horace the presence of Parcis (16), Libra (17), horae (19), consentit astrum (22), Iovis (22), Saturno (23).

45. non equidem hoc dubites There is some doubt as to the original force of equidem. Its derivation from ego quidem is endorsed by various authorities, cf. Hofmann-Szantyr, p. 174 and the works cited there; but while equidem occurs widely in early Latin with the first person, it is also found in the same period with the second and third persons, and Ernout-Meillet, p.557, say, 'l'explication par ego quidem ne doit être qu'une étymologie populaire'; Walde-Hofmann, I.411, suggest ē-quidem or ě-quidem. equidem is used with second and

third persons in archaic Latin, Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Propertius, P. (also at l.110) and Lucan.

45-6. amborum ... / consentire dies et ab uno sidere duci
 Housman, CQ, 7(1913), 19, writes, 'The ὠροσκόπος, the sign of the zodiac which is rising at the moment of birth, presides over the first year of a child's life, the next sign over the second, and so on till the child is twelve years old and the zodiac exhausted; then the first sign presides over his thirteenth year and the wheel goes round again. And not the years only but the months and days and hours of life are severally allotted in the same order to the same twelve signs, beginning from the ὠροσκόπος ... The words dies in 46 and tempora in 47 are no mere synonyms for vitam but have their proper force; ab uno sidere duci explains itself.' Regarding this last expression, Housman presumably takes duci in the same way as the commentators, i.e. nasci, capere originem, cf. Virg. Aen. I.19 progeniem ... Troiano a sanguine duci, Manil. I.261 (sideribus) e quibus ... ratio fatorum ducitur, TLL, V.1.2153. 38ff.

45. foedere certo A dignified phrase, cf. Lucr. V.924, Hor. Carm. III.24.3, Virg. Aen. I.62, Sil. XV.75. Jahn compares P.'s use of it with Manil. II.478 iunxit amicitias horum (astrorum) sub foedere certo, a reference to universal law.

47-8. vel ... / ... seu Housman, CQ, 7(1913),20, says, 'The particle seu or sive must often be resolved into vel si with the vel in one clause and the si in the other'; he quotes Ter. Andr. 190, Hor. Sat. II.1.59, Prop. III.21.7-8, Ov. Her. 10.96-7, P.1.65-8, and paraphrases 47-51 as 'vel aequali Libra Parca nostra tempora suspendit, vel, si hora in Geminos fata duorum dividit Saturnumque Iove frangimus una, certe nescioquid astrum est quod me tibi temperat'.

nostra vel aequali suspendit tempora Libra / Parca tenax veri
Housman, CQ, 7(1913),19, explains the sense as, '"In both of our genitures the χρονοκράτωρ was the Balance". Libra is the sign selected, partly because Horace had mentioned it, partly because it has duas aequato examine lances and might therefore be supposed especially favourable to agreement.'

47. For the noun-epithet arrangement of the line, see 38n.

tempora See 45-6n.

48. Parca tenax veri Jahn mentions that in Roman art, one of the Parcae is represented with scales in her hands, and also as marking the horoscope on the celestial globe. For the almost proverbial truthfulness of the Parcae, cf. e.g. Catull. 64.307, Hor. Carm. II.16.39, Carm.Saec. 25. tenax with the genitive is rare, occurring elsewhere in poetry at Hor. Carm. III.3.1, Virg. Aen. IV.188, Ov. Met. VII.657, X.405, Sen. H.F. 697, Sil. XIII. 126, Juv. 8.25; the construction is found among

artistic prose writers in Seneca and Quintilian.

48-9. nata fidelibus hora / dividit in Geminos concordia fata duorum 'The exact purport of 48-9 ..., "the hour which dawned upon the faithful pair distributes between the Twins the accordant destinies of us twain", is that P. and Cornutus were both born when the sign of Gemini was rising in the east, but one of them when Castor, the other when Pollux was rising: this might be supposed to engender in them a unanimity like that of the sons of Leda. I do not think it would be correct to say that hora is here used for horoscopus, as it is in Sen. Apocol. 3: it is rather the whole phrase nata fidelibus hora which conveys that notion, just as in Horace it is natalis horae, not horae alone, which signifies geniturae' (Housman, CQ, 7(1913), 20). An additional idea may underlie nata fidelibus hora: Conington refers to Aesch. Agam. 107 σύμφυτος αἰών and Soph. O.T. 1082-3 συγγενεῖς / μῆνες; similar expressions are found at Soph. Ajax, 623 παλαιᾶ ... σύντροφος ἡμέρα, O.C. 8 ἅω χρόνος ξυνών; a man's lifetime is said to be born with him and to age with him; closely related to this notion is that of man's destiny being potentially present at the time of his birth. But even if this concept is in P.'s mind, Housman's interpretation of nata fidelibus hora still holds good.

49. dividit in Geminos The variation in for inter is confined to poetry, Livy and Silver prose, cf. Virg. Aen. I.194 socios partitur in omnes (praedam), Liv. XXVIII.2.16 exercitum omnem

in civitates divisit, Tac. Ann. III.38 diviso imperio in Rhoemetalcen et liberos Cotyis, Kühner-Stegmann, I.569.

concordia fata The Stoic εἰμαρμένη determined by universal forces (45-51n.). P's phrase is reminiscent of Manil. III.648 concordia tempora and (together with its context) of Virg. Ecl. 4.47 concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae.

50. 'The sense is that in the genitures of P. and Cornutus the planets Jupiter and Saturn had the same relative positions, and such positions that the benignant Jupiter counteracted the maleficent Saturn' (Housman, CQ, 7(1913),21).

Saturnumque gravem For the evil influence of Saturn, cf. Hor. Carm. II.17.22-3, Prop. IV.1.84, Juv. 6.569-70.

nostro Iove Housman, CQ, 7(1913), 20-1, rightly rejects Jahn's explanation of nostro as communi on the grounds that it would add nothing to una, and instead understands nostro as propitio, comparing Sil. XII.193 dexter deus, horaque nostra est. For Jupiter as a favourable body, cf. Hor. Carm. II.17.22-5, Prop. IV.1.83.

frangimus 'break the force of', cf. Sen. Q.N. V.10.4 ille etesiarum flatus aestatem frangit, H.O. 1366-7 Oceanus meos / franget vapores, Stat. Sily. I.3.7-8 frangunt sic improba solem / frigora.

51. nescio quod certe The combination of the pronoun nescio quid with certe is a stereotype, cf. Catull. 80.5, Virg. Ecl. 8.107, Ov. Her. 12.212, Pont. III.5.42, etc. For the frequent insertion of certe after the second vel in vel ... vel, which is in effect the construction here (47-8n.), cf. TLL, III.939.28ff.

me tibi temperat astrum A verbal echo of Hor. Ep. II.2.187 scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum, where, however, temperat means 'regulates, orders', and astrum is accusative, not nominative. Conington translates temperat as 'fuses', but neither the common notion of the 'fire' of the stars nor the Stoic tenet that the fire of the universe exists in man would explain the image of P. being 'fused' to Cornutus. In his note, Conington suggests that temperat is analogous to misceo applied to the mingling of people; misceo is indeed so used but, as is to be expected, never of one person with another. temperat in P. is made to bear considerable semantic strain: it looks as if it must mean something like concordem facit, but how this is possible within the bounds of established Latin usage is hard to see.

52-61. 'The mention of their unanimity leads P. to think of the variety of pursuits in the world' (Conington). The multiplicity of human character, belief and endeavour is proverbial in both Greek and Latin, cf. Otto, Sprichwörter, pp.166f., 332f. But for the moralist, this diversity is naturally to be viewed in terms of man's vicious practices, cf. Hor. Sat. I.4.25-9 quemvis media elige turba: / aut ob avaritiam aut

miseram ambitionem laborat; / hic nuptiarum insanit amoribus, hic
puerorum; / hunc capit argenti splendor; stupet Albius aere; /
hic mutat merces, Ep. I.1.77-80 pars hominum gestit conducere
publica, sunt qui / frustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras, /
excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant; / multis occulto
crescit res faenore, Sen. Brev.Vit. 2.1 alium insatiabilis
tenet avaritia, alium in supervacuis laboribus operosa sedulitas;
alius vino madet, alius inertia torpet; alium defatigat ex
alienis iudiciis suspensa semper ambitio, alium mercandi prae-
ceps cupiditas circa omnes terras omnia maria spe lucri ducit,
Benef. IV.27.1, Ep. 47.17, Juv. 1.85-6, etc. However, P.'s
criticism of mankind is not uniformly vituperative, and he
describes some pursuits in stronger terms than others; the
common point of censure is that these occupations are put
before the most important one, cura animi.

52. mille hominum species mille, as often, represents an
indefinitely large number, cf. TLL, VIII.980.69ff. P.'s
expression is verbally reminiscent of Ov. R.A. 526 mille mali
species, but his species, to judge from the context, must mean
not 'appearances' but 'kinds': for this rare sense of species,
cf. Ov. A.A. II.233 militiae species amor est.

rerum discolor usus The plural res is equivalent to vita,
cf. Hor. Ep. I.3.33 rerum inscitia, Carm. IV.9.34-5 animus ... /
rerum ... prudens, P. 4.4 rerum prudentia velox, 5.93. rerum
usus is found in the same position of the line at Hor. Ep.

I.12.4 pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus, but its sense there differs from P.'s expression. discolor presents a problem. Its fundamental meanings are 'different in colour' and 'of various colours', but according to TLL, V.1.1336.64ff., there exist instances (P.'s among them) of discolor used in the transferred sense of 'different' or 'various' with no associations of colour: two examples before P. are cited, Hor. Ep. I.18.3-4 ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque / discolor and Ov. Trist. V.5.8 vestis ... fatis discolor alba meis; but Horace's discolor, if translated 'different', would add nothing to dispar and seems rather to differentiate the white stola of the matrona and the dark toga of the meretrix; while Ovid's discolor positively demands the meaning 'different in colour' if any sense is to be made of his words. TLL quotes, in addition to P. 5.52, three instances from Silver Latin where discolor is used in an allegedly transferred sense: Plin. N.H. XXXI.30 columnasque faciunt, ut in Phausia Cherrhonensi, Rhodi in antro magno etiam discolori aspectu, Stat. Theb. IX.338 adiuvat unda fidem pelago nec discolor amnis, Val.Flacc. V.564 variis floret via discolor armis; but in each of these cases, discolor means either 'of various colours' or 'different in colour'. It is only in late Latin that definite examples are found of discolor denoting a difference or variety of kind as opposed to colour, cf. Prudent. Psych. 710-11 deus est mihi discolor ... / nunc minor aut maior, Mart.Cap. I.15 cursus discoloris amnes ... Fortunae ... ambiebant. What, then, is the meaning of rerum discolor usus? To judge from standard classical and Silver Latin usage, Conington is right to translate, 'the practice of life wears the most different

colours'; and yet this expression is much more convincing as English than as Latin: for usus rerum to be 'of many colours' is meaningless. In addition, it is clear from what precedes and follows rerum discolor usus that P. is not talking of 'colours' but of variety. It may be, therefore, that P. is juggling with the etymology of discolor and the semantic complexities of color: only one sense of color, namely 'colour', is found transferred to discolor in Augustan and Silver Latin; perhaps P., abusing contemporary language, has transferred to discolor color meaning 'complexion', i.e. mankind's usus rerum is of various colores: for color applied to mode of life, cf. Hor. Sat. II.1.60 quisquis erit vitae, scribam, color, Ep. I.17.23 omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res, Sen. Ep. 20.2 ut unus sit omnium actionum color, Stat. Silv. II. praef.2 in omni vitae colore. But this is by no means a certain explanation, and discolor remains an enigma.

53. velle suum cuique est velle suum is a type of substantival infinitive much favoured by P.: it corresponds to the use of the Greek infinitive with τό, the definite article being substituted in Latin by the pronouns hoc, illud, istud, ipsum, or by the possessives meum, tuum, suum, nostrum, vestrum, or, on occasions, by both. This stylistic feature occurs first in Plaut. Curc. 28 tuom conferto amare, 180 totum amare hoc, next in Cicero (not his speeches), and frequently in P., Petronius and Martial; the nature of its distribution in literature strongly suggests a colloquialism, though the perfect infinitive is used in Sen. Oed. 992 multis ipsum metuisse nocet.

P.'s substantival use of velle is paralleled at Cic. Att. VII.11.2 hoc ipsum velle miserius esse duco, Mart. V.83.2 velle tuum nolo, though velle in both cases is accusative, not nominative as in P. Other instances of this infinitive in P. are at 1.9 nostrum istud vivere triste (cf. Cic. Att. XIII.28.2 cum vivere ipsum turpe sit nobis, T.D. V.33), 1.27 scire tuum (scire thus used is only here before late Latin, but cf. Petron. 52 meum intelligere nulla pecunia vendo), 1.122 hoc ridere meum (ridere only here), 6.38-9 sapere ... / ... nostrum hoc (cf. Cic. Fin. III.44); the most striking of these examples is 1.9, where P. adds to this substantival infinitive an attributive adjective other than the stereotyped totum, namely triste, cf. Plin. Ep. VIII.9.1 illud iners quidem, iucundum tamen nihil agere. See, in general, Wölfflin, 'Der substantivierte Infinitiv', ALL, 3(1886), 70-91 (pp.73-5, 90), Kühner-Stegmann, I.666, Hofmann-Szantyr, pp.343f.

nec voto vivitur uno The phraseology resembles 2.7 aperto vivere voto, though the meanings of voto differ. The litotes nec ... uno is emphasised by hyperbaton.

54-5. The first in a list of conventional types is the mercator, a generally popular target for moralists because of his audacity for the sake of wealth (132-3n.). But the characterisation here is not the usual one. All mention of danger is excluded, and the idea of distant climes (sub sole recenti) is subordinate to the commercial exchange: Italian wares are given in return for eastern spices; contrast Hor. Ep. I.1.45-6 impiger extremos

curris mercator ad Indos, / per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignis. In what does P.'s indictment of the mercator consist? Clearly the fact of his being a merchant and not a philosopher is blameworthy (52-61n.). But more may reasonably be read into P.'s words here. Imported spices are to be considered a dietetic luxury contravening the old Roman morality as expressed in the long series of sumptuary laws beginning with the lex Oppia in 215 B.C., cf. Gell. II.24, Kübler, R-E, IVA.901.45ff.; a similar notion lies behind the cena-theme of Roman satire with its deprecation of exotic foods, wines and spices; cf. also Plin. N.H. XII.29 (on pepper) quis ille primus experiri cibus voluit aut cui in appetendi aviditate esurire non fuit satis?; and for the Stoic opposition to spices, cf. Musonius ap. Stob. Ecl. III.pp.523ff.(W.). Moreover, Italus, an adjective by no means essential to the basic picture of trading, seems to be included for the sake of a contrast with oriental merchandise, the description of which is curiously detailed: Jahn says rugosum indicates that the pepper is of the Indian variety which was dried in the sun and became shrivelled, Italian pepper having no wrinkles (Plin. N.H. XII. 26, 29); but it is already clear from sub sole recenti that Indian pepper is meant, and since this is so, one wonders why the epithet is there at all; it may be designed to suggest an unprepossessing appearance (cf. Pliny's opinion at N.H. XII. 29) and, like grana, intrinsic worthlessness and triviality, the implication being that the spice-trader emerges second-best from the transaction. Perhaps P., like other Romans about this time, is concerned for the enormous outflow of Roman currency

(in the form of gold and silver, cf. Miller, The Spice Trade, pp.176, 178, 204f., 217) to countries of the East in the purchase of luxury goods: the moralistic aspect of these payments is found combined with the financial, cf. Plin. N.H. XII.84 minimaque computatione miliens centena milia sestertium annis omnibus India et Seres et paeninsula illa (i.e. Arabia Felix) imperio nostro adimunt: tanti nobis deliciae et feminae constant; Tac. Ann. III.53.4 illa feminarum propria, quis lapidum causa pecuniae nostrae ad externas aut hostilis gentis transferuntur. Not only is the mercator not a philosopher, but he is actively responsible for the introduction of decadent oriental luxuries into Rome and for the waste of her wealth.

54. mercibus ... Italis For the case of mercibus, see next note. The form Italus is avoided by artistic prose writers, who invariably use Italicus; the only instances of the latter in verse are one each in Plautus and Statius, and two in Ovid.

mutat muto may be used with an accusative alone to mean 'exchange, give in exchange', cf. Hor. Sat. I.4.29 hic mutat merces; the verb may attract an ablative when used in this sense, cf. Sall. Iug. 44.5 praedas ... mutare ... vino advecticio et aliis talibus, Hor. Carm. I.29.14-15 libros Panaeti Socraticam et domum / mutare loricis Hiberis, Ep. I.17.35-6 nec / otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto; muto may also, as in P., govern the accusative of what is received in exchange, the thing given being the ablative of price, cf. Hor. Sat. II.7.110 puer uvam furtiva mutat strigili, Carm. III.1.47-8 valle permutem Sabina / divitias operosiores,

Kühner-Stegmann, I.390.

sub sole recenti i.e. 'in the East': the phrase is P.'s variation on such expressions as sol surgens (cf. Hor. Sat. I.4.29) and solis ortus (cf. Sen. Vit.Beat. 25.4), and seems to have been suggested by the description of sunrise at Virg. Georg. I.288 sole novo terras inrorat Eous.

55. rugosum piper The epithet, absent from artistic prose, is found occasionally in Horace and the elegists, and in post-Augustan verse is confined to one appearance in Phaedrus, two in P. (also at 5.91) and three in Martial; for its use here, see 54-5n. The source of Rome's pepper was India, cf. Miller, The Spice Trade, p.80.

pallentis grana cumini For cumin as a spice, cf. Plin. N.H. XIX.160 condimentorum tamen omnium, quae fastidiis * * *, cuminum amicissimum; it was imported from Egypt, cf. Miller, The Spice Trade, p.114. For the pallor caused by cumin, cf. Hor. Ep. I.19.18 exsanguie cuminum, Plin. N.H. XX.159. P. uses pallens with active force, i.e. pallorem inducens, cf. Ov. A.A. II.105 pallentia philtera, Mart. XI.6.6 pallentis ... curae.

56. The next character is gluttonous and slothful, the two faults often being combined elsewhere, cf. e.g. Cic. Sest. 138 somno et conviviis et delectationi natos, Sall. Cat. 2.8 mortales dediti ventri atque somno, Tac. Germ. 15.1 dediti somno ciboque.

inrigo ... somno Commentators note that inrigo is suggested by such expressions as Lucr. IV.907-8 somnus per membra quietem / inrigit, Virg. Aen. I.691-2 Venus Ascanio placidum per membra quietem / inrigit, III.511 fessos sopor inrigat artus, and understand it in an active sense, i.e. 'qui inrigat, perfundit sc. corpus, membra' (TLL, VII.2.421.65). This is indeed a possible view, but Thomas, Mnemosyne, 49(1921), 38, justly argues that inrigo is then very weak for P.; he proposes instead to understand it in a passive sense, i.e. 'somno inrigato sc. vino', and compares Hor. Sat. II.1.7-9 ter uncti / transnanto Tiberim somno quibus est opus alto, / irriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento; cf. also Plaut. Poen. 700 vino ... aetatem irriges. The sense yielded by this interpretation is extremely fitting, but the ellipse involved is not easy: irriguus passive is often used absolutely but always with reference to water; where the wetness or watering is caused by some other agent, the latter is regularly specified, cf. Hor. Sat. II.1.9, Stat. Theb. IV.375 sanguine Dircen irriguam. A number of observations may be made in support of Thomas: the context strongly suggests the sense 'wet with wine'; another ablative in the line would be intolerably awkward; that sleep should be described as 'wet' is by no means remarkable since in the passages cited by commentators on inrigo, sleep is thought of as something moist or liquid (cf. also Enn. Ann. 469(V.²) quom sese exsiccat somno Romana iuventus, Onians, The Origins of European Thought, pp.31ff.). But Thomas' view resists conclusive proof, and doubt as to the exact meaning of inrigo lingers.

turgescere For the rarity of the verb, see 20n. Neither turgesco nor turgeo is elsewhere used to mean 'be bloated with food'; P.'s unusual application of the word here, together with the presence of satur, emphasises the sleeper's satiety, and the idea may be that of the proverb γαστήρ παχεῖα λεπτόν οὐ τίκτει νόον (Otto, Sprichwörter, pp.363f.): the character's alimentary excesses swamp his mind. See further 60n.

57. hic campo indulget P. sketches his characters more briefly as he hurries towards his conclusion at 58-61. campus, as often, stands for the Campus Martius, cf. TLL, III.216.78ff.; for the sporting activities there, cf. Hor. Sat. I.6.126, Carm. I.8.5-12, A.P. 379-80. indulget suggests excess: the person 'gives himself up to' sport, neglecting all other occupations including moral improvement (52-61n.); for the opposed natures of athletic and intellectual activities, cf. e.g. Sen. Ep. 15.2 stulta est enim ... et minime conveniens litterato viro occupatio exercendi lacertos et dilatandi cervicem ac latera firmandi, 80.2 cogito mecum quam multi corpora exercent, ingenia quam pauci; quantus ad spectaculum non fidele et lusorium fiat concursus, quanta sit circa artes bonas solitudo; quam inbecilli animo sint, quorum lacertos umerosque miramur.

hunc alea decoquit A common source of moral indignation among the Romans, alea is considered a sufficiently serious vice to be ranked alongside avarice and debauchery at Cic. Phil. 13.24, Hor. Ep. I.18.21, Sen. Benef. VII.16.3. The precise meaning of decoquo in the financial sphere is hard to assess,

but the word apparently contains the fundamental notion of insolvency, cf. J.A. Crook, 'A Study in Decoction', Latomus, 26(1967), 363-76. decoquo in the sense of 'become insolvent' is always used intransitively, cf. Cic. Phil. 2.44 praetextatum te decoxisse, Sen. Benef. III.17.4 nec quaerens quomodo decoquat, Plin. N.H. XXXIII.133, etc.; decoquo used transitively with monetary associations is found before late Latin only in P. and at Mart. II.11.9 nihil colonus vilicusque decoxit, where decoxit means either 'embezzled' (Crook, p.376) or 'squandered' (OLD), the force of its original sense, 'boiled away', being quite clear. P.'s locution does not exactly fit either the intransitive use of decoquo or Martial's: alea is said to boil away the gambler. Nevertheless the suggestion of insolvency is very strong in this context: habitual gambling wastes the man, i.e. his possessions, thus forcing him, one assumes, to declare insolvency; decoquit is practically equivalent to efficit ut hic decoquat. In addition, the literal meaning of decoquit evokes a picture of the man himself physically wasted and withered (cf. Luc. IX.775-6 membra venenum / decoquit), an image perhaps designed to anticipate lapidosa cheragra (58).

57-8. ille / in venerem putris The epithet is applied to oculi at Hor. Carm. I.36.17, where it means 'languishing with desire' (cf. Nisbet-Hubbard's note); this sense is retained by P., but the transference of the word from eyes to person suggests less reliance on Horace than on such Greek expressions as Σμερδόνη ὡς ἐπὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς ταχεῖς (Anth.Pal. VII.31.1) and μετετηχυῖαν ἐπὶ σοῖ (Lucian, Dial.Meretr. 12.1). Moreover,

putris, like decoquit (57), may be taken literally, denoting physical decay and dissolution which perhaps arise from the lover's excessively pleasurable life: Casaubon compares Menander, frag. 23(K.) ἐσθίοντα καὶ λέγοντα 'σῆπομ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς', Stob. Ecl. III.p.294(W.) ὁ Διογένης τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔφασκεν ζῶντας μὲν ἑαυτοὺς σῆπειν λουτροῖς τέγγοντας καὶ ἀφροδισίοις τήκοντας (see also 60n.). The whole expression in venerem putris is a iunctura acris: its structure is to be understood from the kind of locutions found at Virg. Georg. III.97 frigidus in venerem senior, Colum. VI.27.10 admissarius iners in venerem, but, through the ambiguity of putris, it denotes not only 'veneris cupidus' but 'venere dissipatus' and perhaps also 'libidine tabescens'; a similar (though less complex) construction occurs at Petron. 46, in aves morbosus, which means both 'avium avarus' and 'avaritia aeger'.

58-9. The language is partly taken from Hor. Sat. II.7.15-16 postquam illi iusta cheragra / contudit articulos; P. discards Horace's iusta, while lpidosa may have been prompted by Hor. Ep. I.1.31 nodosa ... cheragra.

58. lpidosa cheragra cheragra is properly gout in the hands, as opposed to podagra, cf. Petron. 132 podagrici pedibus suis male dicunt, chiragrici manibus. On P.'s phrase the scholiast remarks, chiragricorum articuli tubercula habent, quae lapidis duritiem exercent. What is the mention of gout supposed to mean here? The disease is sometimes thought to

be connected with sexual indulgence, cf. Celsus, IV.31.2, Sen. Ep. 24.16 adferunt ... libidines pedum, manuum, articularum omnium depravationes; gout can also be caused by overeating, cf. Sen. Ep. 95.16 inde ... retorridi digiti articulis ob-rigescentibus. It may be, therefore, that gout is suggested by two of the characters enumerated. But lines 58-61 refer not only to the good liver and the lecher, but to non-philosophers as a group, the mercator, the athlete, the gambler, etc. P. probably has in mind the elaborate Stoic parallel between bodily and spiritual health and illness (SVF, III.421ff.), the essential point of which is that the soul may be afflicted by sickness just as the body may; or, put another way, that a soul beset by such illnesses as avarice, lust, fear, etc. is like a body afflicted by such diseases as gout, cf. Diog.Laert. VII.115 (SVF, III.422) ὡς δὲ λέγεται τινα ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀρρωστήματα, οἷον ποδάγρα καὶ ἀρθρίτιδες, οὕτω κάπνι τῆς ψυχῆς φιλοδοξία καὶ φιληδονία καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια, Hor. Ep. I.1.30-1 (an illustration of moral well-being) nec quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis, / nodosa corpus nolis prohibere cheragra. Closely related to the body-soul parallel is the frequent expression of the non-philosopher's spiritual sickness in terms of physical infirmity: the moral invalid has a pallid complexion (15n.); his heart beats unsteadily, cf. P.2.53-4, 3.111; he is hot or fevered, cf. Hor. Sat. II.3.80, Ep. I.1.33, 16.21-3, P. 3.116-17; his body swells, cf. Hor. Ep. I.1.36, P. 3.63; so here the non-philosophic types are said to be physically ill in old age, but their illness is more than temporary palpitation or fever: the uncompromising picture of

painful and irrevocable physical affliction is symptomatic of incurable moral degeneration.

59. fregerit articulos fregerit is a much more difficult reading than the variant fecerit, giving rise as it does to a highly compressed thought; and for the idea of gout 'fracturing' fingers, cf. Hor. Sat. II.7.15-16. articuli means 'fingers', cf. Hor. Sat. II.7.16, Prop. II.34.80, Ov. Pont. II.3.17; the word may also refer to the branches of a tree, cf. Cic. Sen. 53, Plin. N.H. XVII.224, and it is this sense of it that ushers in the image immediately following.

veteris ramalia fagi The crushed articuli of the non-philosophers are identified with the dying branches of an old beech. vetus is a stereotyped epithet of fagus, cf. Virg. Ecl. 3.12, 9.9, Calp. Sic. 7.5, Sen. Phae. 510. ramale is not merely a branch but a useless and withered one, cf. Ov. Met. VIII.644 ramalia ... arida, P. 1.97, Tac. Ann. XIII.58 mortuis ramalibus. fagus has no special associations or connotations in antiquity. The whole expression seems designed to emphasise the idea of irremedial physical (and so moral) decline (58n.). See also 60n.

60. crassos transisse dies crassos ... dies, however understood, is a unctura acris. The epithet is used elsewhere of darkness or shadow in the sense of 'opaque, deep', cf. Cic. Acad. II.122 crassis ... tenebris, Lucr. VI.461 fulvae nubis caligine crassa, Sen. Ep. 90.17 umbra crassiore; P.'s unusual combination of it and dies, meaning something like 'opaque days', strongly suggests the idea of semi-darkness, an evident

reference to the conventional parallel (highly developed by Plato but being common property before and after him) between light and knowledge or truth on the one hand and darkness and ignorance on the other: see R. Bultmann, 'Zur Geschichte der Lichtsymbolik im Altertum', Philologus, 97(1948), 1-36, D. Tarrant, 'Greek Metaphors of Light', CQ n.s., 10(1960), 181-7; for instances of this analogy in Latin, cf. e.g. Lucr. II.15, III.1-2, V.11-12, Cic. T.D. V.6, N.D. I.6, Acad. I.44, Sen. Ep. 48.8, 89.2, 102.28; P.'s non-philosophic types have passed their lives in a twilight of ignorance. The implication of ignorance is reinforced by the dominant meaning of crassos ... dies, 'gross, thick days': a theory widely held in antiquity was that a dense atmosphere is responsible for deep-seated mental dullness, and crassus is the mot juste for this density, cf. Cic. Fat. 7 Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici, crassum Thebis itaque pingues Thebani et valentes, N.D. II.42 licet videre acutiora ingenia et ad intelligendum aptiora eorum qui terras incolant eas in quibus aer sit purus ac tenuis quam illorum qui utantur crasso caelo atque concreto, Hor. Ep. II.1.244 Boeotum in crasso iurares aere natum, Juv. 10.50 vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci.

lucemque palustrem Another iunctura acris, the phrase suggests the meanings 'their light has been as is the light over a swamp' and 'their life has been passed in a swamp'. Like crassos ... dies, the words imply darkness and a denseness of the air, since a marsh may be a place of fog and murk, cf. Hippocr.

de Aere, 15. (Vol. II, p.60 Littré) (of the stagnant Phasis)
 ἤηρ τε πολὺς κατέχει τὴν χώραν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων, Sil. VIII.380
nebulosa palus. In addition, lucemque palustrem may be
 understood from the originally Hippocratic but later quite
 common belief that a man's physical and moral characteristics
 are assimilated to his environment (Pease on Cic. Div. I.79):
 of particular relevance to P.'s notion of life spent in a
 marsh is Hippocr. de Aere, 13 (Vol. II, p.58 Littré) εἰσὶ γὰρ
 φύσεις αἱ μὲν ὄρεσιν εἰκνῦναι δενδρώδεσσι τε καὶ ἐφύδροισιν,
 αἱ δὲ λεπτοῖσι τε καὶ ἀνύδροις, αἱ δὲ λειμακεστέροις τε καὶ
 ἐλώδεσι, αἱ δὲ πεδίῳ τε καὶ ψιλῇ καὶ ξηρῇ γῆ, 24(Vol.II, pp.90-2
 Littré) ὄκου μὲν γὰρ ἡ γῆ πίειρα καὶ μαλθακὴ καὶ ἔνυδρος,
 καὶ τὰ ὕδατα κάρτα μετέωρα ... ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι σαρκώδεες
 εἰσὶ καὶ ἄναρθροι καὶ ὑγροὶ καὶ ἀταλαίπωροι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν
 κακοὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ. τό τε ῥᾶθυμον καὶ τὸ ὑπνηρὸν ἔνεστιν
 ἐν αὐτοῖς ἰδεῖν. ἔς τε τὰς τέχνας παχέες καὶ οὐ λεπτοὶ
 οὐδ' ὀξέες. P.'s characters are adapted to the swamp they
 have lived in: a palus is a wet, soft area of land and its
 inhabitants are, for the satirist, τὴν ψυχὴν κακοί; one of
 the inhabitants (56) is ὑγρός (if inrigo means madido),
 ὑπνηρός and σαρκωδής. Further, in accordance with Hippocrates'
 theory, the people actually resemble their habitat: a swamp
 is a place of putrefaction (cf. Catull. 17.10 putidae paludis,
 Varro, R.R. I.8.4 (palus) puter evertitur), and the lover (58)
 has assumed this feature of it; a swamp has barren associations
 (Hippocr. de Aere, 15, Hor. A.P. 65, Plut. Caes. 58.9, etc.),
 and hence, perhaps, the men's gout-ridden fingers are veteris
ramalia fagi (59); see also 63-4n.

61. sibi ... vitam ... relictam Housman, CQ, 7(1913), 21, writes, 'The construction is sibi vitam relictam (esse), and the sense is "se vitam non attigisse", tamquam non vivant qui vitiis semper indulgent, as the scholiast says. For this use of relinquo, see Hor. Sat. II.6.89 dapis meliora relinquens, A.P. 149-50 et quae / desperat tractata nitescere posse relinquit.' For P.'s thought, cf. Sen. Brev.Vit. 11.1 stultos se fuisse, qui non vixerint, clamitant.

iam seri Jahn compares Sen. Brev.Vit. 16.1 cum ad extrema venerint, sero intelligunt miseri tamdiu se, dum nihil agunt, occupatos fuisse.

ingemuere ingemesco is for the most part used absolutely in Augustan and Silver Latin, and its construction with an accusative and infinitive is not common (TLL, VII.1.1516.79ff.). The perfect tense here is 'gnomic' (Hofmann-Szantyr, pp.318f.).

62-5. The diversity of mankind's practices followed from the unanimity of P. and Cornutus; Cornutus is now re-introduced together with his philosophy for the sake of a contrast with these immoral and aimless ways of life.

62. The line contains an element of καρὰ προσδοκίαν: nocturnis recalls the sunless days of ignorance and degeneracy (60n.); inpallescere at first suggests the pallor of moral illness (15n.), the complexion of men who live in a dark and foggy atmosphere (e.g. Hippocr. de Aere, 15); Cornutus, however, grows

pale not nocturnis conviviis, stupris, as many of the non-philosophers do, but nocturnis ... chartis. The iunctura gives added force to the recommendation of Cornutus' way of life.

nocturnis ... chartis lucubratio, an essential in the poetic sphere (Brink on Hor. A.P. 269), is also thought to be a desirable means of achieving self-improvement and acquiring knowledge, cf. Hor. Ep. I.2.34-5, Sen. Ep. 8.1, Plin. Ep. III.5.8, etc.

inpallescere An apparent coinage of P., occurring elsewhere before late Latin only at Stat. Theb. VI.805, inpallesco looks to be modelled on the Horatian coinage insenescio (Ep. II.2.82-3 insenuitque / libris et curis). For the pallor (real or feigned) of study, cf. P. Pro1. 4, 1.26, 124, 3.85.

63-4. For the metaphor, Casaubon compares Cic. T.D. II.13 cultura animi philosophia est, haec extrahit vitia radicitus et praeparat animos ad satus accipiendos eaque mandat iis et, ut ita dicam, serit quae adulta fructus uberrimos ferant; Jahn adds Hor. Ep. I.1.39-40 nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit, / si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem. The image in P. is opposed to the implications of sterility in lucemque palustrem (60): for a similar contrast, cf. Sen. Ep. 73.16 semina in corporibus humanis divina dispersa sunt, quae si bonus cultor excipit, similia origini prodeunt et paria iis, ex quibus orta sunt, surgunt; si malus, non aliter quam humus sterilis ac palustris necat ac deinde creat

purgamenta pro frugibus.

63. iuvenum To be taken ἀπὸ κοινῶν with cultor and aures.
For Cornutus' concern with youth, see 37n.

purgatas ... aures A verbal echo of Hor. Ep. I.1.7 est mihi purgatum crebro qui personet aurem, where, as Conington notes, purgatum looks to be used of normal cleansing; P.'s purgatas is predominantly an agricultural term denoting the clearing away of weeds prior to cultivation, cf. Ov. Pont. I.8.59. The reference seems to be to the notion of weeds or thorns in a person's mental make-up, for which cf. Hor. Sat. I.3.34-7 denique te ipsum / concute num qua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim / natura aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque / neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris, Ep. I.14.4-5 certemus, spinas animone ego fortius an tu / evellas agro, II.2.212 quid te exempta iuvat spinis de pluribus una?. In transferring the cultivation from mind to ears, P. has clearly been influenced by Hor. Ep. I.1.40 (quoted on 63-4n.), but his vivid elaboration of the metaphor goes considerably beyond his model.

63-4. inseris aures / fruge The construction is unusual: inseris frugem auribus would be the regular expression, and the only parallel to P.'s use of insero appears to be Culex, 411 his (floribus) tumulus super inseritur.

64. fruge Cleanthea i.e. Stoicism. For Cleanthes, pupil of Zeno and teacher of Chrysippus, see Pease on Cic. N.D. I.37;

the epithet Cleantheus is found only here and in Claudian. fruges is rarely used of what is sown, cf. Cato, Agr. 27 alias fruges serito, Cic. N.D. II.152 nos fruges serimus.

64-5. petite hinc ... / finem animo certum Commentators compare the language to Hor. Ep. I.2.56 certum voto pete finem.

64. puerique senesque The words suggest the idea that men of all ages and also from all walks of life may benefit from philosophy, cf. e.g. Hor. Ep. I.1.24-6 id quod / aequae pauperibus prodest, locupletibus aequae, / aequae neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit, 3.28 hoc opus, hoc studium parvi properemus et ampli, Sen. Ep. 76.1-3.

65. finem animo certum The notion of a goal in life is much favoured by the Stoa, cf. e.g. SVF, I.179 διόπερ πρῶτος ὁ Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως τέλος εἶπε τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῆ φύσει ζῆν ... ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κλεάνθης ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς, and frequently appears in the Stoic literature of the first century A.D., cf. P. 3.60-2, Sen. Vit.Beat. 1.1ff., Tranq.An. 12.1ff., Brev.Vit. 2.2, Ep. 95.45-6, etc.

miserisque viatica canis After Cic. Sen. 62, cani often stands for cani capilli, and here it appears to be used pars pro toto for senectus, cf. Sen. Cons.Sap. 12.1 post iuventam canosque puerilitas est. viaticum is recorded elsewhere in verse only in Plautus and Horace's Epistles; its sense here is 'travelling provisions', as at Hor. Ep. I.17.54; for P.'s transferred use of viaticum, cf. Cic. Sen. 66 potest enim

quicquam esse absurdus quam, quo viae minus restet, eo plus viatici quaerere?, ps.-Sen. de Mor. 18 quid enim stultius est, quod dici solet, quam via deficiente viaticum augere?.

Commentators compare P.'s expression with Bias' saying in Diog. Laert. I.88, ἐφόδιον ἀπὸ νεότητος εἰς γῆρας ἀναλαμβάνει σοφίαν, and Aristotle's in Diog.Laert. V.21, κάλλιστον ἐφόδιον τῷ γῆρα τὴν παιδείαν. But Bias' idea is simply that philosophy maintains one throughout life's journey; Aristotle's opinion is more pertinent, for, like P.'s words, it may be interpreted in two ways: either study of philosophy is a comfort for the miseries of old age, or it helps the aged face the prospect of death, the final destination of life's journey: for the preparation in life for death, cf. e.g. Plato, Phaedo, 67D, Sen. Brev.Vit. 7.4, Ep. 4.4, 4.9, 61.3-4.

66-72. The undesirability of deferring self-improvement is often pointed out, cf. e.g. Hor. Ep. I.2.37-43, Sen. Brev.Vit. 19.1-2, Ep. 1.2, Epict. IV.12.19-21.

66. 'cras hoc fiet' The adversarius makes his first appearance in the poem with a brief undertaking to begin Stoicism the next day.

66-7. idem cras fiat. 'quid? quasi magnum / nempe diem donas!' Of the transmitted readings fiet and fiat, the latter has been proved correct by Housman, CQ, 7(1913), 22-3: he says that the meaning of the words quid ... / ... donas is as given by the scholiast, quasi aliquid magnum concedis.

si unius diei spatio otiosus sim, and observes that in idem cras fiet there is no concessio or donatio diei to account for the procrastinator's reply; the picture changes when idem cras fiat is read: Housman explains, "The new life shall begin tomorrow," says the sluggard. "No, no, let the old life continue tomorrow," answers P.; "the day after tomorrow will be soon enough to begin the new." The day after tomorrow, he well knows, will be much too soon: the sluggard, when he said cras hoc fiet, had no genuine intention of reforming himself either the next day or the next month or the next year. Therefore this ironical indulgence, implying as it does perendie hoc fiat, makes the sluggard very angry; he sees that he is caught. "You seem to think one day's grace a large concession!"".

66. quasi magnum For the phrase commentators compare Hor. Sat. I.4.9-10 in hora saepe ducentos, / ut magnum, versus dictabat.

67-8. sed cum lux altera venit, / iam cras hesternum consumpsimus According to TLL, VI.3.2668.61-2, cras hesternum is 'dies heri crastinus dictus', and Conington explains the lines as 'the very coming of the tomorrow you speak of now involves the loss of the tomorrow you spoke of yesterday, i.e. of today'. Another interpretation seems possible. Various expressions exist in Latin for 'the next day', among them proximus dies, posterus dies, secundus dies and alter dies, while 'the day after next' is often rendered by tertius

dies; however, the Romans occasionally appear to confuse this numerical system: M.J. Toutain, REL, 7(1929), 257, cites instances where alter dies can only mean 'the day after', cf. Cic. Phil. 1.13 proximo, altero, tertio reliquis consecutis diebus, Plin. Ep. IX.33. 5-6 postero die ... altero die ... tertio ... pluribus. If lux altera in P. means 'the day after tomorrow', the lines have to be translated, 'but when the day after next has come, we have used up tomorrow as yesterday': cras hesternum consumpsimus must be taken as cras ut hesternum consumpsimus, a type of compression familiar to P.'s style (cf. 59, 72); for the noun hesternum, cf. Sen. Ep. 24.20, 83.8; the point of P.'s reply now is that when the offered day of grace, cras, has gone, i.e. when the day after next comes, cras, the day of rest, is yesterday. For all that, the established view of these lines remains preferable. To begin with, cras hesternum consumpsimus meaning 'we have used up tomorrow as yesterday' is a highly artificial way of taking the words when the more straightforward is admitted by the language. In addition, the easier translation coheres more satisfactorily with the trend of thought: to judge from 68-72, P. is thinking of a process continuous until death, not just of the two or three days immediately following the imaginary conversation; the offer of a day's grace is designed merely to show that the adversarius will always say cras: but the arrival of one tomorrow means the loss of another, and tomorrows continue for ever. lux altera and cras can be considered variation rather than distinction.

68. cras Used elsewhere as a substantive only in aliud cras, Atta, 9(R.³), Mart. V.58.1.

68-9. ecce aliud cras / egerit hos annos The words contain a number of difficulties, chief of which is egerit. For the verb, some commentators compare Val.Flacc. V.298 nox Minyis egesta metu, VIII.453-4 tota querellis / egeritur questuque dies; neither comparison is valid, since both usages of egero in Valerius stem from a misunderstanding of Virg. Aen. VI. 513-14 (Leumann, 'Dichtersprache', p.150, n.4). Conington sees in egerit the metaphor of baling out water, cf. Ov. Met. XI.488 egerit hic fluctus aequorque refundit in aequor; but while water is baled out of a ship because it is a source of danger, why should years be 'baled out' and from what? If egerit is indeed a form of egero, instances are required of the verb used to mean 'waste, expend': such instances exist, cf. Luc. III.718-19 egere quod superest animae ... per omnes / bellorum casus, ps.-Quint. Declam. IX.10 (ed. Lehnert, p.176.21) egestum conviviis faenus, Tac. Ann. XV.64.2 multum vitalis spiritus egestum. On the other hand, Jahn understands egerit as the future perfect of ago, comparing Petron. 45 sic vita truditur; cf. also Sen. Ep. 108.24 agit nos agiturque velox dies; however, P. is talking not of time in general but of years spent or allotted (hos annos); and if egerit is assumed to be a form of ago, the resultant sense, 'a succession of tomorrows will have driven on one's years', conveys almost nothing. It is much more convincing to understand egerit as 'wantonly expends'. Conington explains aliud cras as '"a fresh tomorrow",

ever succeeding'; the context appears to demand this meaning, though aliud thus used is an abuse of Latin. As for hos annos, hos would more naturally refer to past time but may reasonably be taken as prospective, cf. TLL, VI.3.2720.71ff., 2721.30ff. Translate 68-9, 'an ever recurring tomorrow is wasting the years you have before you'.

69. semper paulum erit ultra The adage that tomorrow never comes is hackneyed to modern taste. The form of P.'s expression leads on to the image in 70-2.

70-2. The picture is an incongruous one, and P. conceals its precise nature for as long as possible in order to achieve the effect of surprise: not until 72 does he make clear that the procrastinator is the rear wheel of a wagon or chariot. The proximity of the back wheel to the front creates the illusion that the former will catch up with the latter at any moment; similarly, to expect to come upon cras, close as it appears, is futile.

70-1. quamvis prope te, quamvis temone sub uno / vertentem sese Either vertentem sese is to be understood ἀπὸ κοινοῦ in both quamvis-phrases, or quamvis prope te is an independent expression: for quamvis in a purely prepositional phrase, cf. Hor. Sat. II.1.74-5 quamvis / infra Lucili censum ingeniumque; quamvis with a participle is rare in classical Latin but common thereafter, cf. Tränkle, Sprachkunst, pp.71f.

70. temone sub uno First used by Ennius, temo is absent from comedy, Horace and Martial, and is confined in verse almost exclusively to Augustan and Silver epic; it occurs once each in Caesar, Cicero (in verse, at N.D. II.109) and Livy. Conington translates P.'s words, 'under the same carriage-pole'; but temone seems rather to be used pars pro toto for curru, cf. Virg. Aen. XII.470, Juv. 4.126.

71. frustra Emphatic, cf. semel (157).

canthum A vox peregrina, canthus is found here for the first time in Latin, cf. Quint. I.5.7-8 doctiores multa adicient, vel hoc primum, quod barbarismum pluribus modis accipimus. Unum gente, quale est, si quis Afrum vel Hispanum Latinae orationi nomen inserat, ut ferrum quo rotae vincuntur dici solet 'canthus', quamquam eo tanquam recepto utitur Persius. The word recurs in Silver Latin at Mart. XIV.168, where, as in P., it is used pars pro toto for rota.

72. cum rota posterior curras The full impact of the image is held back until here. curro denotes rapid rotation, whether stationary, as at Hor. A.P. 22 currente rota cur urceus exit?, or, as here, moving, cf. Ov. Pont. IV.9.10 et mea sincero curreret axe rota.

in axe secundo The phrase, unparalleled in Latin, repeats and emphasises the idea of rota posterior.

73-188. The distinction between civil and moral libertas and servitium was made great play of by the Stoa, and later treatments of the idea are found in Cicero, Horace, Seneca and Epictetus (see following notes passim). P. introduces the theme abruptly without having anticipated it in the previous seventy-two lines.

73-5. libertate opus est. non hac, ut quisque Velina / Publius emeruit, scabiosum tesserula far / possidet The lines are a source of very considerable difficulty. Punctuation is the first problem. Jahn places commas after est, hac (which he makes dependent on opus est), ut and emeruit, and explains 'libertate opus est, non hac, ut, qua, (quasi dixerit ita, ut) scabiosum far tesserula possidet, quisque, quicumque, Publius emeruit Velina'. Arguing against this approach, Conington points out that possideat would be required, while Housman, CQ, 7(1913),23, objects to the use of ut for qua and quisque for quicumque. Conington instead puts a colon after opus est, so that non hac begins a new sentence, and removes the comma after ut: then 'non hac libertate servi, simul atque emeruerunt, far tesserula possident' (Housman); neither Conington nor Housman considers the double ablative a serious obstacle to this interpretation. Conington is probably right to punctuate as he does, but many serious problems exist here, most of which are left unsolved and even unrecognized by him. What, for example, does emeruit mean? Conington implies that its object is far, but 'ut quisque far emeruit, far possidet' is distinctly long-winded and places undue emphasis on the frumentum.

emeruit has libertatem as its object in the scholion, libertate, hoc est sapientia, utendum est, non autem illa, quam Publius emeruit (cf. Phaedr. App. 18.10 emerui libertatem, canus servio); however, the scholiast's phraseology is different from that of Conington's text, and to understand libertatem with emeruit in the latter is impossible in view of the preceding libertate, 'moral freedom': the resultant sense, 'one needs freedom; it is not by this freedom, when each Publius has earned it,' etc., confuses moral and civil libertas; this particular difficulty could be avoided by adopting the variant hac qua ut (and setting a comma after opus est), but qua after hac looks like a gloss and seems hardly convincing in P.'s elliptical and terse style. Moreover, hac qua ut is excluded by the context: commentators from the scholiast onwards (and Housman) believe that P. is talking about liberti enjoying the corn dole as a benefit of their new-found libertas, Publius being taken as the manumitted slave's new name, like Marcus (79-81); Conington's translation is typical: 'It is not this freedom which enables every new recruit for citizenship enlisting in the Veline tribe to get a quota of spoiled corn for his ticket'. This view is quite wrong. Publius, a common Roman praenomen, is used like so many names in Latin legal writings (e.g. Gaius, Lucius Titius, Maevius, Seius) to denote a hypothetical Roman, cf. Berger, Dictionary of Roman Law, p.596; this usage is found outside juristic texts, cf. Mart. V.14.5 post Gaiumque Luciumque consedit, where the names carry the equivalent force of the English 'Tom, Dick and Harry'. The natural way to understand quisque ... / Publius

is of a number of fictitious Romans; P. does not start thinking about liberti until 75: each Publius is an ingenuus. What, then, does emeruit mean? The remaining possibility is that it is intransitive, i.e. 'has served', cf. Plaut. Bacch. 43. Now commentators, however they understand 73-5, take emeruit closely with Velina; but the sense 'when each Publius has served in the Veline tribe' is unconvincing here: a person received a measure of far on the basis of civitas and origo, cf. D. van Berchem, Les distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine sous l'empire (Geneva, 1939), pp.32ff.; only citizens domiciled at Rome were eligible, and Velina is one of the tribus rusticae; service in the Veline tribe can have nothing to do with receiving frumentum at Rome. However, the position of Velina between quisque and Publius strongly suggests that the ablative is to be taken with those words, not with emeruit, i.e. 'each Publius from the Veline tribe': for the ablative of place or tribe indicating origin, cf. Hofmann-Szantyr, pp.105, 428. Each Publius is therefore a civis but only a municeps and so not incisus; he receives a token for wheat ubi emeruit, when he has performed some service or other for the state. This interpretation creates two large problems. First, how is libertas relevant if each Publius is already a civis? Perhaps he possesses every civil freedom except that by which he may legally take advantage of the corn dole, and to secure this freedom he must carry out a service. This, however, is not particularly straightforward. Considerably more problematical is the connexion of thought between 73-5 and 75ff.: P. begins by talking of ingenui and suddenly

switches to liberti; P. may be saying, 'the freedom I mean is not the freedom to enjoy wheat distributions nor the freedom bestowed by manumission', i.e. two kinds of civil freedom. But this is again far from certain. These difficulties arise from taking quisque ... / Publius as ingenui, yet it seems that this view at least is correct.

74. scabiosum ... far The epithet, found probably for the first time in Columella, is absent from artistic prose and occurs among verse writers only in P. (also at 2.13). scabiosum is hardly an accurate description of the wheat distributed to Romans, and it is apparently included as a passing insult without regard for its place in the broader context (189n.).

tesserula The reference is to the tesseræ frumentariæ. tesserula occurs elsewhere in verse only at Lucil. 84-5(M.) quam lepide lexis conpostae ut tesserulae omnes / arte pavimento atque emblemate vermiculato; when tesserula is used by Cicero and Quintilian, it is always in allusions to Lucilius. tessera, to judge from its appearance in Martial, Juvenal and Suetonius, is the vox propria for a gift token; its replacement in P. by a diminutive used by Lucilius in a famous piece of burlesque carries with it contempt.

75. steriles veri sterilis with a genitive is first definitely attested in Silver Latin, but the construction may have been used at Accius, 579(R.³), cf. Hofmann-Szantyr, p.78. Conington

compares steriles with the metaphor at 63-4: unlike Cornutus' pupils, ordinary men have not had truth nurtured in them, and the implication of steriles is that they never will. verum is found in Cicero, Horace and Seneca for 'philosophic truth', and ἡ ἀλήθεια and τὸ ἀληθές are common in Plato and Stoic sources.

Quiritem The singular Quiris is recorded only in verse and in the ancient legal formula at Fest. 304(L.) Quiris leto datus; it may mean populus Romanus (Hor. Ep. I.6.7, Ov. Met. XIV.823, Claud. Carm. 12.17) or, as in P., civis Romanus, cf. Hor. Carm. II.7.3, Ov. Am. I.7.29, III.14.9, Trist. II.569, Juv. 8.46-8 vivas et originis huius / gaudia longa feras. tamen ima plebe Quiritem / facundum invenies, Fest. 304 (L.). As in Juvenal, Quiritem here seems to be a dignified substitute for the colourless civem, elevating the status of citizenship and, with una ... / vertigo, emphasising the fatuity of the manumission ceremony.

76. vertigo The word is rare and has various applications. It is attested first in Afranius, 425 (R.³), then occasionally in Augustan and Silver Latin. It is used of the sea's swirling at Prop. III.7.65, Ov. Met. XI.548, of the revolution of the heavens at Ov. Met. II.70, Sen. Q.N. VII.10.1, Stat. Theb. X.918, Sil. VIII.173, and means 'dizziness' at Liv. XLIV.6.8, Juv. 6.304. P.'s sense, an act of turning or twirling, is found only in Silver Latin, cf. Luc. VI.460 traxerunt torti magica vertigine fili, Plin. N.H. VIII.150 adsidua rotatum

vertigine. vertigo in P. is a reference to manumissio per vindictam, which Berger, Dictionary of Roman Law, p.577, explains as, 'A manumission before a magistrate, performed through a fictitious trial in which a third person, with the agreement of the slave's master, claimed that the slave was free ... The master did not oppose such affirmation whereupon the magistrate pronounced the slave free. The use of a rod (vindicta) with which the slave was touched by the claimant explains the name of this kind of manumissio'. That the slave was turned round during the course of the ceremony is attested only in non-juristic texts (78n.).

hic Dama est A slave is introduced. For Dama as a slave's name, cf. Hor. Sat. I.6.38, II.5.18, 7.54, Petron. 41, Mart. XII.17.10. Dama often represents a hypothetical slave in Latin legal works, cf. Dig. III.3.66, XXII.29.4, XXX.94.2, XXXI.88.11, etc.

non tresis agaso The expression is of a proverbial kind, cf. Ennius, Scaen. 423(V.²) non nauci homo, Plaut. Poen. 381 non ego homo trioboli sum, 463 non homo trioboli, Pompon. 111 (R.³) senica non rescunciae, Cic. Fam. V.10.1 non semissis homo, Petron. 44 aedilem trium cauniarum, Otto, Sprichwörter, p.351. tresis is indeclinable in the singular (191n.).

agaso A rare word. In archaic Latin it means a groom, but later, as in Livy and Pliny the Elder, it denotes anyone who works with or drives horses, cf. Serv. on Virg. Aen. III.470

duces, equorum scilicet, quos vulgo agasones vocamus. Dama is evidently connected with horses in his work (77n.), but something of the contemptuous tone of Horace's application of agaso to a clumsy house-slave (Sat. II.8.72) may also be present in P.

77. vappa lippus vappa is avoided by artistic prose writers and found elsewhere in verse once each in Catullus, Martial, Priapea and the Copa, and a few times in Horace's Satires. It has two distinct meanings, cf. Plin. N.H. XIV.125 vitiumque musto quibusdam in locis iterum sponte fervere, qua calamitate deperit sapor vappaeque accipit nomen, probrosum etiam hominum, cum degeneravit animus; vappa is used of a worthless type at Catull. 28.5, Hor. Sat. I.1.104, 2.12, Priap. 13.6, and elsewhere of wine. lippus occurs only in P., Plautus, Lucilius, Horace's hexameters, Petronius, Martial and Juvenal; P.'s application of the word here is perhaps imitated at Mart. VI. 39.11 lippum ... Damam. The variant vappa et lippus makes sense in view of the two meanings of vappa but is by far the inferior reading: Conington, in support of vappa et lippus, points to the absolute use of lippus in P. 1.79, 2.72, where moral blindness is meant; but here, lippus set between the two powerful and earthy pejoratives vappa and mendax is very weak: Dama's worthlessness would be obvious from non tressis (76), vappa and mendax, and lippus would contribute nothing to the sense; it is much more convincing to understand Dama simply as a drunkard and a cheat. For the thought of vappa lippus, cf. Mart. VI.78, where wine is said to affect vision

and lippus is used of a potor nobilis; for lippus with an ablative, cf. Lucil. 195(M.) lippus edenda acri assiduo ceparius cepa. Nevertheless, even with the reading vappa lippus, the context allows the secondary meaning of vappa to make itself felt.

in tenui farragine mendax farrago is absent from stylistic prose, and occurs elsewhere in verse only at Virg. Georg. III.205 and Juv. 1.86; for its meaning, cf. Fest. 81(L.) farrago appellatur id quod ex pluribus satis pabuli causa datur iumentis. tenui could mean exiguo (cf. Cic. T.D. III.49 tenuem victum antefert copioso, Phaedr. IV.13.7 tenui contentus cibo) or 'thin', opposite to crasso (cf. Virg. Georg. III.205 crassa magnum farragine corpus equi crescere). mendax in, 'deceitful regarding', is not paralleled before late Latin. Exactly what P. means here is uncertain: Bo, following Jahn, explains the words as 'in farragine administranda fraudulentus, cum partem pabuli iumentis subductam vendat'; this view is attractive in that mendax is given a definite point, but P.'s thought is so abbreviated that interpretations are necessarily speculative when they advance beyond the fact that Dama practises deceit in regard to farrago. The essential point of P.'s expression is that Dama, as a slave, is a swindler in those small matters which are in his power; as a freedman, he will be concerned with more serious affairs (79-81), and it is hardly likely that one who has been dishonest over trifles will become honest over far more important matters solely as a result of the meaningless ceremony of manumission.

78. verterit ... exit Parataxis (189-90n.).

verterit hunc dominus The reference is to part of the ceremony of manumissio per vindictam (76n.); for the turning about of slave by master, cf. Sen. Ep. 8.7, ps.-Quint. Declam. 342 (p.350 Ritter), Epict. II.1.26, Appian, B.C. IV.135.

momento turbinis An ironic variation on the formula momento temporis.

78-9. exit / Marcus Dama 'he becomes Marcus Dama'. For exeo in the sense of fio, cf. Sen. Ep. 95.39 aliqua ... exhibunt recta. For a freedman's change of name, cf. Steinwenter, R-E, XIII.106.46ff., Morel, D-S, IV.95: the libertus usually keeps his slave name as his cognomen and adopts his patron's nomen gentile; the praenomen (here Marcus) was originally conferred by no fixed method, but from the beginning of the Empire is mostly that of the freedman's patron or his patron's father.

79. papae! An exclamation of wonder, here unmistakably ironic. papae occurs elsewhere only in comedy where it is often ironic, while the form babae, which is apparently synonymous with papae, is found only in Plautus and Petronius. κακαί and βαβαί are used variously in Greek, very frequently as expressions of amazement, but also as cries of joy or grief. See Hofmann, Lat.Umg., p.24.

79-81. A list, not of the material advantages of citizenship (one of which is mentioned at 73-5), but of the responsibilities that that status entails. The slave's newly acquired Roman name is sarcastically repeated again and again in a context which shows that civil law mistakenly supposes the concomitant of ceremonially bestowed libertas to be moral betterment.

79. Marco spondente On sponsio, Berger, Dictionary of Roman Law, p.713, writes, 'The earliest form of an obligation under ius civile assumed through an oral answer (spondeo) to the future creditor's question (spondesne?). The sponsio, conceived in this broader sense, was in the course of time absorbed by the stipulatio. In a narrower sense sponsio denoted the obligation of a surety who equally through exchange of question and answer obligated himself to pay what another had promised'. Only cives could undertake sponsio, cf. Buckland, A Text-book of Roman Law, p.445.

80. credere ... nummos The usual expression is credere pecuniam (TLL, IV.1129.80ff.). For the rarity of nummus and other words for money in the higher types of verse, cf. Axelson, Unp.Wörter, p.108.

Marco sub iudice How realistic is P.'s claim that a libertus will find himself a iudex? The wealth needed must have presented a serious obstacle to the aspirations of most liberti: under Augustus, the album iudicum at first consisted of three decuriae iudicum made up exclusively of equites; Augustus then

added a fourth decuria of less wealthy persons, but these nevertheless required a census of two hundred thousand sesterces (Suet. Aug. 32.3); Caligula added a fifth (Suet. Gaius, 16.2), but the required census for which is not recorded, though two hundred thousand sesterces may be assumed (Kübler, R-E, VI.299.39ff.). However, it would appear that from Caligula's time onward, liberti were managing fairly often to become equites, cf. Plin. N.H. XXXIII.33 Gaius princeps decuriam quintam adiecit, tantumque enatum est fastus ut, quae sub divo Augusto impleri non potuerant, decuriae non capiant eum ordinem (i.e. equestrem), passimque ad ornamenta ea etiam servitute liberati transiliant ... ita dum separatur ordo ab ingenuis, communicatus est cum servitiis; and at Epict. IV.1.38, a libertus aims to become an eques. P., then, is probably making a generalisation from a number of spectacular cases of such social advancement. In addition, however, he seems to have in mind the definition of vir bonus at Hor. Ep. I.16.40-3, vir bonus est quis? / 'qui consulta patrum, qui leges iuraque servat, / quo multae magnaecque secantur iudice lites, / quo res sponsore et quo causae teste tenentur': Marcus Dama, according to civil law, is both liber and vir bonus.

palles A sign of fear, cf. Hor. Carm. III.27.28, Ov. Her. 1.14, Met. II.180, VIII.465, etc.

81. Marcus dixit, ita est Conington notes the obvious contrast with mendax (77): Dama is suddenly a man of his word.

adsigna, Marce, tabellas A reference to the witnessing of tabulae testamenti, tabulae dotis, or any legal contract that has to be signed and sealed. Slaves are ineligible to witness the signing of legal documents, cf. Kaser, R-E, VA. 1042.34ff. signo is the usual term for sealing contracts, and adsigno so used makes its first appearance here.

82. haec mera libertas For the expression, cf. Cic. Rep. I.66 nimis meracam libertatem sitiens hausit, Liv. XXXIX.26.7 meram haurientes libertatem; Horace's libertas ... mera (Ep. I.18.8) involves a different meaning of libertas, though its hostile context was probably in P.'s mind.

pillea The caps of freedom, donned at the time of manumission, cf. Plaut. Amph. 462, Petron. 41, and the formula ad pilleum vocare (Liv. XXIV.32.9, Sen. Ep. 47.18, Suet. Tib. 4). The irony of the line is achieved by the parallel drawn between the large, abstract concept of libertas and the trivial, material pillea.

83-5. As Casaubon says, the lines form a syllogism: the major premise is that a free man is able to live as he wishes, the minor that the adversarius is able to live as he wishes; the conclusion deduced by the adversarius is that he is free.

83-4. an quisquam est alius liber, nisi ducere vitam / cui licet ut libuit? The definition of a free man advanced here is a legal one (89-90n.). It is also, ironically, the

definition subscribed to by moralists and philosophers (including the Stoics), cf. Plato, Rep. VIII.557B καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἢ πόλις μεστὴ καὶ παρρησίας γίγνεται, καὶ ἐξουσία ἐν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν ὃ τί τις βούλεται, SVF, III.355 εἶναι γὰρ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοπραγίας, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν στέρησιν αὐτοπραγίας, 356 ὥστε ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὲν φρονίμους ἐλευθέρους τε εἶναι καὶ ἐξεῖναι αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὡς ἐθέλουσι, Cic. Parad. 5.34 quid est enim libertas? potestas vivendi ut velis, Off. I.70 (libertas) cuius proprium est sic vivere ut velis, Epict. IV.1.1 ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν ὁ ζῶν ὡς βούλεται.

84. licet ut volo vivere Commentators place a colon after vivere, Clausen a comma. The comma makes licet ... vivere a paratactical si-clause or quoniam-clause; this kind of parataxis is extremely common in Latin (see references cited on 189-90n.), and no objection can be made to Clausen's punctuation on linguistic grounds. But since the syllogistic structure of 83-5 is so clear, it would seem pointless to blur the three steps of the argument with a comma after vivere. The logical course is to set a strong punctuation mark after vivere and make licet ... vivere, the minor premise of the syllogism, an independent sentence.

84-5. non sum / liberior Bruto? The reference is to L. Iunius Brutus, who is closely associated in the Roman mind with libertas, cf. Cic. de Or. II.225 L. Bruto qui hunc populum dominatu regio liberavit, Tac. Ann. I.1.1 libertatem et

consulatum L. Brutus instituit, Plut. Public. 10.1 Βροῦτος ...
 ὃν πατέρα τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐνόμιζεν ὁ δῆμος. The hyperbolic
liberiorBruto reflects the confidence of the adversarius in
 his conclusion.

85. mendose mendosus occurs a few times in Cicero and once
 in Seneca, and is avoided elsewhere in artistic prose; in
 verse it is confined to Lucretius, Horace's hexameters, Ov.
Am. II.4.1, Met. XII.399, P. (also at 106) and Aetna, 74.
 It is only in late Latin that mendosus is synonymous with
mendax: earlier it means falsus, vitiosus, and, as in P.,
 is used of erroneous reasoning at Lucr. IV.502-3 praestat
rationis egentem / reddere mendose causas utriusque figurae.

colligis colligo means much the same as συλλογίζομαι. The
 latter is often found in Plato with the meaning 'infer, deduce',
 and then in Aristotle takes on the highly technical sense
 of 'infer syllogistically'; similarly, colligo means 'reason,
 argue', but occasionally, as here, it means 'argue by way of
 a syllogism', cf. Sen. Benef. V.12.3, Ep. 83.9, Quint. V.14.14,
 etc.

86. Stoicus hic i.e. P. himself; this type of periphrasis
 is freely admitted in colloquial styles, cf. Plaut. Bacch. 640
hunc hominem decet auro expendi, Trin. 172, 1115, Ter. Ad.
 906, Lucil. 428(M.), Hor. Sat. I.9.47, Ep. I.16.49 renuit
negitatque Sabellus, Hofmann-Szantyr, p.180. The periphrasis
 here is not for its own sake but anticipates P.'s approach
 in disabusing the adversarius; see also next note.

aurem mordaci lotus aceto The literal meaning of the words is that P.'s ears are clean and therefore register every word of the argument; for the cleansing of blocked ears by means of vinegar, Lackenbacher, WS, 55(1937), 139 compares Celsus, VI.7.7B (sordes aurium) si durae sunt, acetum et cum eo nitri paulum coiciendum est; an expression similar to P.'s, also denoting close attention, is Plaut. Mil. 774 pepurigatis damus tibi ambo operam auribus. More important, however, P.'s words, following on from Stoicus hic, suggest Stoic sapientia and its effect on the student. Vinegar elsewhere indicates down-to-earth shrewdness or sharpness of wit, cf. Plaut. Pseud. 739 ecquid is homo habet aceti in pectore?, Hor. Sat. I.7.32 Italo perfusus aceto; while the representation of instruction by ear-cleansing is found in various forms at Hor. Ep. I.8.16 praeceptum auriculis hoc instillare memento, P. 1.107-8, 5.63-4. The images of ear-cleansing arise from the importance attached to hearing (as opposed to seeing) in the acquirement of wisdom: thus audio is frequently used for 'receive philosophical instruction from' (Cic. N.D. I.37, Off. I.1, Petron. 71, etc.); and Porphyrio on Hor. Ep. II.1.188 says that the Academici put more trust in ears than eyes; particularly relevant to P.'s locution is the metaphor at Plato, Phaedr. 243D ποτίμῳ λόγῳ οἴον ἀλμυρὰν ἀκοὴν ἀποκλύσασθαι, a well-known passage quoted three times by Plutarch (Mor. 706D, 711D, 998A). P.'s Stoic training enables him to detect and respond to fallacious reasoning.

87. relicum Absent from all poetry between Lucretius and P. except for instances in Manilius and Phaedrus; the word is

quadrissyllabic in Lucretius and Phaedrus, while here and at Manil. II.732, it has three syllables (Axelson, Unp.Wörter, pp.20f.).

"licet" illud et "ut volo" tolle P. denies the validity of the second premise and therefore of the conclusion also: the man who enjoys civil freedom does not automatically possess true libertas.

88. vindicta The rod used in manumissio per vindictam (76n.) is thought by the adversarius to bestow perfect freedom. At Hor. Sat. II.7.76-7, Davus points out that the vindicta cannot make a man morally free.

meus 'my own master': Conington cites Plaut. Pers. 472 sua nunc est, mea ancilla quae fuit, Ter. Phorm. 587 ego meorum solus sum meus, Sen. Ep. 20.1 si te dignum putas qui aliquando fias tuus; cf. also Sen. Ep. 62.1 meus sum: rebus enim me non trado sed commodo.

89-90. The lines are a definition of civil freedom: Jahn quotes Dig. I.5.4 libertas est naturalis facultas eius quod cuique facere libet, nisi quod vi aut iure prohibetur. The adversarius picks up P.'s objections to licet and ut volo (87) with liceat and voluntas.

90. excepto siquid The subject of the ablative absolute is a clause dependent on the participle; the construction is rare

outside Sallust, Livy and Tacitus (Hofmann-Szantyr, p.141); excepto as used here occurs first at Hor. Ep. I.10.50 excepto quod non simul esses cetera laetus and elsewhere at Ov. Trist. III.6.12, Pont. IV.4.13 and in Silver Latin prose (TLL, V.2.1249.26ff.).

Masuri rubrica The main work of Masurius Sabinus, a Roman jurist of the first century A.D., was an exposition of ius civile in three books, cf. Steinwenter, R-E, IA.1600.38ff. rubrica is properly the title of a law, which was written in vermilion; the word is used here pars pro toto for ius civile, as at Quint. XII.3.11, Juv. 14.192 (see Mayor's note). Jahn observes that Masurius' name is used in distinguishing between natural and man-made law at Epict. IV.3.12 οὐτοῖς εἰσὶν οἱ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπεσταλμένοι νόμοι, ταῦτα τὰ διατάγματα· τούτων ἐξηγητὴν δεῖ γενέσθαι, τούτοις ὑποτεταγμένον, οὐ τοῖς Μασουρίου καὶ Κασσίου.

91. P. insists that the interlocutor control his wrath before philosophical instruction begins: for the Stoics, anger is a bar to reason, cf. SVF, III.390 ὁ Χρύσιππος εἰπὼν ὅτι τυφλὸν ἐστὶν ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ πολλάκις μὲν οὐκ ἔῃ ὁρᾶν τὰ ἐκφανῆ, πολλάκις δὲ τοῖς καταλαμβομένοις ἐπιπροσθεῖ, μικρὸν προελθὼν, τὰ γὰρ ἐπιγιγνώμενα, φησὶ, πάθη ἐκκρούει τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ τὰ ὡς ἐτέρως φαινόμενα, βιαίως προωθοῦντα ἐπὶ τὰς ἐναντίας πράξεις. The Stoic sapiens is never liable to anger, cf. e.g. Cic. T.D. III.19, Hor. Ep. II.2.207.

ira cadat naso The nose and nostrils are often said to show anger, cf. Theocr. 1.18 καὶ οἱ ἀεὶ δριμεῖα χολὰ ποτὶ ῥινὶ κάθηται (with Gow's note), Herod. 6.37-8 μὴ δῆ, Κοριπτοῖ, τὴν χολὴν ἐπὶ ῥινός / ἔχ' εὐθύς, Afranius, 384-5 (R.³) diram tuam animam in naribus primoribus / vix pertuli edepol, Lucil. 574(M.) eduxique animam in primoribus <oribus> naris.

rugosaque sanna A vivid expansion of the colourless ira. For the rareness of the epithet, see 55n.; here rugosa denotes the manifestation of anger on the nose, cf. Sen. de Ira, I.1.5, where anger is called vitium deforme. sanna is a popular borrowing of the Greek σάννας and occurs elsewhere only at P. 1.62 and Juv. 6.306.

92. avias Henss, Philologus, 99(1955), 290-1, believes that avias is to be related to the idea of weeds in the mind (63n.). But avia seems too obscure a word for this metaphor: its precise nature is unknown, and it is mentioned only by Columella and Vegetius Renatus. Much the more obvious meaning of avias is 'grandmothers', and the grotesque image afforded by this sense is characteristic of P. avias suggests aniles fabellae (for this common expression, see Pease on Cic. N.D. III.12): the avia plays an important part in a child's upbringing, cf. Quint. VI.praef.8 me suis nutricibus, me aviae educanti, me omnibus qui sollicitare illas aetates solent, anteferret, Suet. Vesp. 2.1 educatus sub paterna avia, and P. sees this early influence as harmful and enduring.

pulmone pulmo here evidently represents 'mind'. According to Onians, The Origins of European Thought, pp.23-40, 66-74, φρένες in early Greek thought and occasionally in the fifth century B.C. meant 'lungs' and these were regarded as the seat of intelligence and consciousness. Plato, however, sees the lungs (πλεύμονες) merely as organs serving the heart (Tim. 70A-D) and places the seat of reason in the head (Tim. 44D). For the Romans, the heart (cor) or the breast generally (pectus) fulfills the function of the seat of intelligence, and P.'s pulmone either stands pars pro toto for pectore (a usage probably unparalleled) or, if Onians is right, is an explicit (but remarkably late) reference to old Greek psychology.

revello For the verb, cf. Sén. Ep. 95.34 revellatur penitus falsorum recepta persuasio.

93. non praetoris erat praetoris looks back to praetore (88). For the genitive, cf. Kühner-Stegmann, I.453f. The tense of erat is difficult: on Hor. Ep. I.4.6 non tu corpus eras sine pectore and Prop. I.13.34 non alio limine dignus eras, Fraenkel, Horace (Oxford, 1957), p.324, n.3, writes, 'I have long regarded these two instances of eras as borrowings from Greek syntax ... It is not only the Greek imperfect in the common connexion with ἔρα ... but also the plain imperfect (in statements) that ought to be compared, as, for example, Aesch. Cho. 243 πιστὸς δ' ἀδελφὸς ἦσθ' ἐμοὶ σέβας φέρων.' But whether Fraenkel is right and whether P.'s erat is analogous to eras in Horace and Propertius is not at all certain.

stultis For the rarity of stultus in the higher types of poetry, cf. Axelson, Unp. Wörter, p. 100. Here the epithet, as often in Cicero, Horace and Seneca, has the force of the Stoic terms ἄφρων and φαῦλος, and denotes non-philosophers who, because of their ignorance of Stoicism, are counted as fools.

93-4. tenuia rerum / officia 'the subtle duties of life': for this sense of tenuis, cf. Cic. Acad. II.43 tenuis et acuta distinctio, Sen. Ep. 94.35 tenues autem differentias habent (praecepta). For officia, cf. Cic. Fin. III.20 primum est officium (id enim appello καθήκον) ut se conservet in naturae statu, deinceps ut ea teneat quae secundum naturam sint, pellatque contraria, SVF, III.495 καθήκοντα μὲν οὖν εἶναι ὅσα λόγος αἰρεῖ ποιεῖν, ὡς ἔχει τὸ γονεῖς τιμᾶν, ἀδελφούς, πατρίδα, συμπεριφέρεσθαι φίλοις.

94. usum rapidae ... vitae Despite civil enactments, the non-philosophic man is unable to live life as it should be lived, cf. SVF, III.682 κατὰ γὰρ παραγγέλματα βιοῦν μηδένα τῶν ἀφρόνων. The easiest meaning of rapidae is 'swift'; Jahn, however, explains rapidae ... vitae as 'quae secum ferat et rapiat stultum, philosophia non firmatum', an interpretation which imposes more weight on rapidae than the word can reasonably bear; P.'s point is simply that life is short and may easily be wasted without its full benefit being reaped.

95. The thought of the line is proverbial, cf. Otto, Sprichwörter, p.41, s.v. asinus(5). But see 100-4n.

sambucam A high-pitched musical instrument with four strings (Athenaeus, 633F), the sambuca requires a skilled touch, cf. Arist. Pol. 1341B ἐπτάγωνα καὶ τρίγωνα καὶ σαμβύκαι καὶ πάντα τὰ δεδόμενα χειρουργικῆς ἐπιστήμης.

caloni calo, properly a soldier's slave, occurs first in Accius and then is confined to historiography except for instances at Cic. N.D. III.11, Hor. Sat. I.2.44, 6.103, Ep. I.14.42 and Sen. Ep. 110.17. The word is sometimes found in the simple sense of 'slave', cf. Porph. on Hor. Sat. I.2.44 calones servi dicuntur; but it is more effective to take caloni in P. as a military slave since this meaning would, as Conington notes, tie in with P.'s low opinion of the soldiery (189n.).

alto The epithet is emphatic but appears to serve no purpose in the context. Conington sees an affinity between it and ingens (190), but alto is not at all an obvious pejorative; nor is it particularly comic; P. looks to have included it solely for a touch of vividness (189n.).

96. stat contra ratio For the formula stat contra, cf. TLL, IV.742.20ff. As a Stoic term, ratio has various connotations. To begin with, ratio is the active and controlling force in the universe, cf. SVF, I.85 δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς εἶναι τῶν

ὄλων δύο, τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πάσχον εἶναι τὴν ἄποιον οὐσίαν τὴν ὕλην, τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ λόγον τὸν θεόν. τοῦτον γὰρ αἰδίον ὄντα διὰ πάσης αὐτῆς δημιουργεῖν ἕκαστα, I.531 λόγον ἡγούμενον τῶν ἐν <τ>ῷ κόσμῳ, Cic. Acad. I.29 quam vim (i.e. rationem) animum esse dicunt mundi, eandemque esse mentem sapientiamque perfectam, quem deum appellant, omniumque rerum quae sint ei subiectae quasi prudentiam quandam, procurantem caelestia maxime, deinde in terris quae pertineant ad homines. Further, ratio has many of the properties of natura: for the latter as a controlling force in the universe, cf. SVF, II.912 τὸ φύσει διοικεῖσθαι τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, Cic. N.D. II.75 omnes res subiectas esse naturae sentienti ab eaque omnia pulcherrime geri; both ratio and natura are identified with an all-pervading deity, cf. SVF, II.945 τὴν δὲ εἰμαρμένην αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὸν λόγον, καθ' ὃν διοικεῖται τὸ πᾶν, θεὸν εἶναί φασιν; in addition, natura possesses ratio, cf. SVF, II.549 natura quae per omnem mundum, omnia mente et ratione conficiens, funditur; ratio is also φύσει νόμος, cf. SVF, II.528; for other points of contact between ratio and natura, compare SVF, I.172 mundi ... natura non artificiosa solum sed plane artifex ab eodem Zenone dicitur with Sen. ad Helv. 8.3 incorporalis ratio ingentium operum artifex; and SVF, I.531 nihil ratione censet (Cleanthes) esse divinius with SVF, II.1024 quid enim aliud est natura quam deus et divina ratio toti mundo partibusque eius inserta?. The property of ratio as a controlling force in the Stoic system seems relevant to P.; but in view of the affinities, often expressed, between ratio

and natura, it looks as if P., by ratio, means neither more nor less than natura (98), especially since he considers both to be forces of restraint. See further 98n.

secretam garrit in aurem Partially reminiscent of Hor. Sat. II.8.78 secreta ... aure. garrigo is used among artistic prose writers only by Cicero, who has it mostly in his letters; in verse it is confined to comedy, Horace's Satires, Martial and the Copa. In comedy, the verb denotes fatuous talk, cf. Plaut. Aul. 830 soleo ... garrire nugas; it means 'gossip idly' at Cic. Att. VI.2.10 cupiebam etiam nunc plura garrire, Hor. Sat. I.9.13; it is used of infant talk at Mart. V.34.8, and is applied contemptuously to the irresponsible chatter of philosophers at Cic. N.D. I.108, de Or. II.21; garrigo in aurem occurs a number of times in Martial but invariably either the speech has wanton overtones or the speaker is an undesirable character. P.'s combination of ratio and garrigo thus has a certain grotesque incongruity.

97. The language is prosaically precise: facere is included after licet (contrast 89), while id quod quis looks alien to P.'s normal conciseness; the style may be imitative of juridical language (8n.), anticipating publica lex (98) and also taking into account the role of ratio as natural law (96n.). Here ratio forbids what should not be done, cf. SVF, III.323 λόγος δέ ἐστι φύσεως προστακτικὸς μὲν ὧν πρακτέον, ἀπαγορευτικὸς δὲ ὧν οὐ ποιητέον. For the idea that the

non-philosopher will ruin what he attempts, cf. SVF, III.560
καὶ τὸν φαῦλον πάντα ὅσα ποιεῖ κακῶς ποιεῖν κατὰ πάσας τὰς
κακίας.

98. publica lex hominum Opposed to Masuri rubica (90).
Natural law, like ratio and natura (96n.), is identified by
the Stoics with an omnipresent divinity, cf. SVF, III.4
ὁ νόμος ὁ κοινός, ὅσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος διὰ πάντων
ἐρχόμενος, ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν τῷ Διί. Like ratio and natura, it is
also a steadying and controlling influence in the universe,
cf. SVF, I.162 adfirmant (Stoici) mundum prudentia ac lege
firmatum, III.315 lex est ratio summa insita in natura, quae
iubet ea quae facienda sunt prohibetque contraria. It seems
reasonable to assume that in P., ratio, natura and publica
lex are interchangeable terms and that no very clear dis-
tinction between them is meant; similarly Iove (114) may
be any or all of these three terms, which are at one time
or another identified with Zeus.

fas 'universal statute', cf. Serv. on Virg. Georg. I.269
fas et iura sinunt, id est divina humanaque iura permittunt:
nam ad religionem fas, ad homines iura pertinent, Isid. V.2.2
fas lex divina est, ius lex humana.

99. The sense of the line appears to be, 'ignorance checks
actions which are forbidden to it'; the idea is illustrated
by what follows: if a person knows nothing of medicine,
he does not attempt to practise it.

inscitia debilis The noun is used by most writers of artistic prose, and occurs in verse only in Accius, Plautus, Terence and Horace's hexameters. For debilis, cf. SVF, I. 68 τὴν ἄγνοιαν μεταπτωτικὴν εἶναι συγκατάθεσιν καὶ ἀσθενῆ.

actus actus in the sense of actio appears first in Silver Latin, cf. TLL, I.453.3ff.

100-4. Medicine is an ars, cf. Varro, L.L. V.93, Ov. A.A. II.735, Sen. Ep. 87.15; navigation is also an ars, cf. Cic. Fin. IV.76, Sen. Ep. 85.34, 36. In 95, philosophical skill is illustrated by musical skill: for music as an ars, cf. Ter. Phorm. 17, Sen. Ep. 87.12; in addition, dancing (123) is an ars, cf. Sen. Ep. 95.56, Suet. Gaius, 11. The point of P.'s illustrations is that philosophy is an ars, the ars vivendi or ars vitae, cf. Cic. Fin. I.42, 72, IV.16, Acad. II.23, Sen. Ep. 95.7ff., 117.12, etc. This notion goes back to the Stoic τέχνη, cf. SVF, II.35 τὴν δὲ φιλοσοφίαν ἄσκησιν ἐπιτηδείου τέχνης, III.136 τέχνας ὅσαι δύνανται συνεργεῖν ἐπὶ πλεῖον πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν βίον, III.516 ὥστε καὶ τέχνην αὐτὸν (i.e. τὸν σοφόν) ἔχειν περὶ τὸν βίον, ἧς ἰδιὸν ἐστὶν ἔργον τὸ ἕκαστον τῶν πραττομένων ἀπὸ ἀρίστης διαθέσεως πράττειν. The illustration of the skills of the philosopher by comparison with those of the physician and helmsman is established in Stoic writings, cf. e.g. Cic. Fin. I.42 ut enim medicorum scientiam non ipsius artis sed bonae valetudinis causa probamus, et gubernatoris ars, quia bene navigandi rationem habet, utilitate non arte laudatur, sic

sapientia, quae ars vivendi putanda est, non expeteretur si nihil efficeret, V.16 ut medicina valetudinis, navigationis gubernatio, sic vivendi ars est prudentia. The comparison is found extended to other arts, cf. Cic. Fin. III.24 ut enim histrioni actio, saltatori motus non quivis sed certus quidam est datus, sic vita agenda est certo genere quodam, non quolibet, Parad. 3.26. But it is also sometimes qualified, cf. Fin. III.24 nec enim gubernatori aut medicinae similem sapientiam esse arbitramur, sed actioni illi potius quam modo dixi et saltationi ut in ipsa insit, non foris petatur extremum, id est artis effectio; while Seneca goes further and denies all resemblance between philosophy and the arts of medicine and navigation (Ep. 85.30ff., 87.15ff., 95.7ff.), dancing (Ep. 95.56) and music (Ep. 87.12ff.). P. does not make a close identification of philosophy with other artes: his point is simply that the practice of all artes requires skill and training. A similarly non-committal use of artes is found as an illustration of ars poetica in Hor. Ep. II. 1.114-17.

100. diluis elleborum An instance of ars medicina. For the technical use of diluo, cf. TLL, V.1.1188.51ff.; for hellebore, cf. Stadler, R-E, VIII.163.40ff.

100-1. certo conpescere puncto / nescius examen examen is properly the index attached to the arm of a balance and designed to show if the weights are in equipoise, cf. Virg. Aen. XII. 725-6 Iuppiter ipse duas aequato examine lances / sustinet,

Schol. on P. 1.6 examen est lingua vel linum, quod mediam hastam ad aequanda pondera tenet, Isid. XVI.25.5 examen est filium medium quo trutina et statera regitur et lances aequantur. But conpescere ... / ... examen yields little sense if examen is meant literally; the word looks rather to stand pars pro toto for trutina or statera, an easy transference. However, P.'s expression probably contains an element of iunctura acris, none of the usual meanings of compesco being entirely suitable in the context: in OLD, conpescere is explained, apparently correctly, as 'check the movement of, steady', but is unconvincingly classed with instances of the verb applied to calming waves and storms. Also difficult is certo ... puncto: the scholiast says of the phrase, non ad trutinam sed ad stateram retulit, quae punctis et unciis signatur; Jahn and Conington concur, the latter noting that the statera here is to be opposed to the trutina in 1.6; such a sharp distinction may be unnecessary: a statera is strictly a steelyard, cf. Isid. XVI.25.6 haec duas lances non habet sed virga est signata libris et uncis et vago pondere mensurata; but according to Vitruv. X.3.4, the name statera is used of some trutinae, while at Suet. Vesp. 25, a statera has two lances; in addition, relics are preserved of balances that have two lances together with a sliding weight and graduated markings on the arm, cf. Michon, D-S, III.1226. puncta may therefore be found on a statera proper or on a trutina that incorporates certain features of a statera. For all that, P.'s words, 'steady the balance

certo puncto' are highly compressed: certo ... puncto seems to mean that the movable weight is slid along the arm to such a punctum that an equipoise is achieved. As for the role of weighing in medicine, there occur throughout Roman scientific works mentions of very exact weights, cf. e.g. Plin. N.H. XXII.133 ellebori albi unum et dimidium obolum.

101. vetat hoc natura medendi vetat recalls vetitos ... actus (99). natura here is more pointed than ars because of its Stoic connotations: φύσις is a controlling force (96n.), and just as it is κατὰ φύσιν for an untrained man to practise medicine, so it is κατὰ φύσιν for the non-philosopher to attempt artem vivendi.

102. peronatus arator The epithet, probably a coinage of P., is based on pero, for which cf. Serv. on Virg. Aen. VII. 690 pero autem est rusticum calciamentum, Isid. XIX.34.13 perones et sculponeae rustica calciamenta sunt; the provincial tone of the word is clear also from Virgil, where perones are the footwear of a legio agrestis (Aen. VII.681), and from Juv. 14.186, part of a picture of old Rome. peronatus strongly reinforces the overtones of rusticity in arator, the whole phrase conveying the notion of ignorance and clownishness, cf. Cic. Rosc.Am. 143 homo imperitus morum, agricola et rusticus, Hor. Ep. I.2.42 rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis, Mart. III.24.4 agresti ... rudique viro; agrestis is found opposed to doctus (e.g. Cic. Parad. 5.33, Cael. 54) and agrestis or rusticus combined with indoctus (e.g. Cic. Part. 90, Sen. Ep. 15.8, Quint. XII.10.53). See also 122n.

103. luciferi rudis Venus was the most celebrated 'star' in antiquity, cf. Rehm, R-E, VIII.1250.17ff. Casaubon notes that if P. means the ploughman is unaware of the existence of the morning star, this would contradict Virg. Georg. I.204-58, where farmers are supposed to be as familiar with the stars as sailors. P.'s expression would also be laughable, cf. Plin. II.37 iam magnitudine extra cuncta alia sidera est, claritatis quidem tantae ut unius huius stellae radiis umbrae reddantur; but perhaps P. intends it as a ridiculous idea: M.H. Morgan, 'Notes on Persius', CR, 3(1889),10-11(p.11), thinks that here the ploughman's total ignorance is brought out. The possibility that lucifer, through its fame and distinction, in P. stands pars pro toto for 'navigation by the stars', cannot be entirely excluded; but Morgan's view is much the more effective.

103-4. The language resembles Hor. Ep. II.1.80-1 clament periisse pudorem / cuncti paene patres, but there are several differences: the Horatian context is literary, while P.'s passage is illustrative of philosophical knowledge; in Horace, the exclamation is unjustified, in P. it is fair; P. replaces clament with the more expressive exclamet, and the simple pudorem with the bold frontem; he also adds de rebus, presumably 'from life', cf. 52,93.

103. Melicerta Ino's younger son, with whom she threw herself into the sea when pursued by her maddened husband Athamas;

both mother and son became sea-deities (Ov. Met. IV.416-562, Serv. on Virg. Aen. V.241). The pair are differently known to the Greeks and Romans, cf. Serv. on Virg. Georg. I.437 sane Ino et Melicerta postquam sunt in numina commutati, Graece Palaemon et Leucothea sunt appellati, Latine Portunus et Mater Matuta. Portunus is the tutelary deity of harbours (Serv. on Virg. Aen. V.241).

104. frontem i.e. pudorem: frons is the seat of pudor, cf. Sen. Benef. VII.28.3 non est quod frontem eius indures; si quid est pudoris residui, servet, Petron. 39 frontem expudoratam, Juv. 13.241-2 quando recepit / eiectum semel attrita de fronte ruborem?; according to TLL, VI.1.1358.56ff., P.'s use of frons for pudor is preceded in Cic. Pis. 1,68, Prov.Cons. 8: but in these three cases, frons literally denotes Piso's brow; P. is first to use frons as he does, and next to follow is Juvenal with salva / fronte (11.204-5).

recto vivere talo Transferred from a literary context in Hor. Ep. II.1.176 securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo. The expression recto talo is derived from Greek: Jahn cites Pind. Isth. 7.12 ὀρθῶ ἔστασας ἐπὶ σφυρῶ and Eur. Helen, 1449 ὀρθῶ δὲ βῆναι ποδί; to these instances add Pind. Ol. 13.72 ἀνὰ δ' ἔπαλτ' ὀρθῶ ποδί, Callim. Hymns, 3.128 ἐπὶ σφυρὸν ὀρθὸν ἀνέστη. The exact moral point of recto vivere talo is not obvious. Perhaps the reference is to the teleological explanation of man's upright stature by which he is distinguished from beasts, cf. Pease on Cic. N.D. II.140 (deus) primum eos humo excitatos celsos et erectos constituit, ut deorum

cognitionem caelum intuentes capere possent; instead of taking the idea for granted, P. sees man as remaining bestial until trained by philosophy, cf. 2.61 o curvae in terris animae et caelestium inanis. However, the notion 'live as is fitting', 'live as was divinely intended', is too generalised to be the first of a series of particular Stoic attributes. 'Uprightness' seems rather to be the desired Stoic attitude in the face of fortune, cf. Hor. Ep. I.1.68-9 Fortunae te responsare superbae / liberum et erectum, Sen. Ep. 9.13 animo sano et erecto et despiciente fortunam, Epict. II.17.29 ἀνατεῖναι τὸν πράχηνον πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ὡς ἐλεύθερον καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβλέπειν ὡς φίλον τοῦ θεοῦ μηδὲν φοβούμενον τῶν συμβῆναι δυναμένων.

105. ars τέχνη, 'Stoicism' (100-4n.).

105-6. The ability to distinguish truth and falsehood is the property exclusively of the Stoic sapiens, cf. SVF, II.110 posse enim eum (i.e. sapientem) falsa a veris ... distinguere, III.657 μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἀληθεύει καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἔχει τἀληθοῦς βεβαίαν.

105. veri speciem For the reading, see 106n.

dinoscere calles For the rarity of dinosco, see 24n. calleo (also at P. 4.5) is common to archaic Latin, but is used in Augustan poetry only by Horace (Carm. IV.9.49, A.P. 274); it is rarely found in artistic prose, and occurs elsewhere in Silver verse twice in Silius and once in Juvenal. For calleo

with an infinitive, cf. Hor. Carm. IV.9.49, Sil. XVI.57, Juv. 4.142.

106. ne qua subaerato mendosum tinniat auro Conington compares the image with Hor. Ep. I.7.22-3 vir bonus et sapiens dignis ait esse paratus, / nec tamen ignorat quid distent aera lupinis, Epict. I.7.6-7. What is the grammatical subject of tinniat? Jahn says of the verb, 'absolute positum est', Conington claims its subject is verum. Both are wrong, and both mistakenly read veri specimen in 105. The subject of tinniat can only be the indefinite adjective qua. qua must mean qua species, and the context further indicates qua species veri, i.e. an appearance of truth but a false and deceptive one. However, if the reading veris speciem, favoured by Clausen, is retained in 105, can ne qua species veri be understood from it in 106? The inference is possible but not at all easy, and the needs of 106 appear to provide an argument in favour of the variant veri speciem. But the matter is still not straightforward: if 105 is to cohere with 106, veri speciem vero dinoscere has to be understood in 105, i.e. 'can you distinguish an appearance of truth from truth itself, lest any appearance of truth ring false?' Nevertheless, it seems easier to understand veri speciem vero dinoscere from veri speciem dinoscere than to infer ne qua species veri from veris speciem dinoscere.

subaerato The epithet, perhaps found only here in Latin, is a translation of the Greek ὑπόχαλκος, 'counterfeit, false', cf.

Plut. Mor. 65A ὁ δὲ ψευδῆς καὶ νόθος καὶ ὑπόχαλκος (sc. φίλος),
Themistius, Orat. 21.247B χρυσίον ὑπόχαλκον ἢ πορφύραν ἐψευσμένην.

mendosum tinniat For mendosum, see 85n. tinnitus is common enough in verse and Silver Latin prose, but not so tinnio: the verb is found several times in archaic Latin, but is absent from all Augustan and Silver poetry except here, and occurs very infrequently in stylistic prose. In archaic Latin tinnio has two distinct meanings: for the most part in Plautus, it means 'babble', but it also has the sense 'ring, ring out', cf. Ennius, Ann. 432 (V.²), Plaut. Trin. 1004; its single occurrence in Cicero, Att. XIV.21.4 ecquid Dolabella tinniat, where it is used of the chink of money, has a colloquial stamp. For P.'s expression, Jahn cites Quint. XI.3.31 nam sonis homines ut aera tinnitu dinoscimus.

107. The Stoic αἰρετά and φευκτά. For the nature of these, cf. SVF, I.190 ταῦτ' εἶναι φησιν ὁ Ζήνων ὅσα οὐσίας μετέχει, τῶν δ' ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ, τὰ δὲ κακὰ, τὰ δὲ ἀδιάφορα. ἀγαθὰ μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα· φρόνησιν, σωφροσύνην, δικαιοσύνην, ἀνδρείαν, καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ ἢ μετέχον ἀρετῆς· κακὰ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἀφροσύνην, ἀκολασίαν, ἀδικίαν, δειλίαν, καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐστὶ κακία ἢ μετέχον κακίας· ἀδιάφορα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ζωὴν θάνατον, δόξαν ἀδοξίαν, πόνον ἡδονήν, πλοῦτον πενίαν, νόσον ὑγίειαν, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια. Knowledge of the desirables and undesirables is wisdom and a guide to conduct in life, cf. SVF, III.262 σωφροσύνην δ' εἶναι ἐπιστήμην αἰρετῶν καὶ φευκτῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων, Sen. Ep. 94.12 qui habet exactum iudicium de fugiendis petendis-

que scit quid sibi faciendum sit.

sequenda ... evitanda Horace uses peto and fugio (Sat. I.2.75, 3.114) and peto and vito (Sat. I.4.115).

108. prius ... mox For the combination, cf. TLL, VIII.1550. 17ff.

creta ... carbone notasti In Latin, days of happiness are said to be denoted by a white stone or mark, cf. Catull. 68.148, 107.6 o lucem candidiore nota, Hor. Carm. I.36.10 Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota, P. 2.1, Mart. VIII.45.2, XI.36.1, Plin. Ep. VI.11.3, Otto, Sprichwörter, pp.64f. This way of speaking is evidently to be traced back to the Thracians, who literally marked good and bad days with white and black stones, cf. Plin. N.H. VII.131 more Thraciae gentis, quae calculos colore distinctos pro experimento cuiusque diei in urnam condit ac supremo die separatos dinumerat atque ita de quoque pronuntiat. P.'s transference of the idea to the moral sphere is inspired by Hor. Sat. II.3.246 sani ut creta, an carbone notati.

109. es modicus voti modicus with a genitive is first attested in Silver Latin (Hofmann-Szantyr, p.78). P. is presumably concerned here with lack of material ambition.

presso lare presso apparently means 'modest, contained within limits'; Conington notes that pressus is frequently applied in this sense to rhetorical style, cf. e.g. Cic. Brut. 51

parum pressi et nimis redundantes, Tac. Dial. 18.8 inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus; P. may have been influenced by this usage, but pressus seems also to be his variation on such epithets as angustus (e.g. Cic. Fin I.65 domo ... angusta, Sen. Const.Sap. 15.5 domus haec sapientis angusta) and artus (e.g. Liv. III.6.3 arta tecta). lar is frequently found pars pro toto for domus, cf. e.g. Hor. Sat. I.2.56, Carm. I.12.44, Ep. I.7.58. The recommendation of simple, functional dwellings as opposed to ostentatiously large or over-ornate ones is common to both Stoicism and a more general moral outlook, cf. Sall. Cat. 12.3, Sen. Contr. II.1.12, Sen. Benef. VII.10.5, Const.Sap. 15.5, Ep. 8.5, 89.21, Juv. 14.86-95 (with Mayor's note).

dulcis amicis Commentators compare Hor. Ep. II.2.210 ignoscis amicis?, which, as here, is one of a number of questions that only the sapiens can answer positively. Right treatment of friends is an officium vitae (93-4n.); also relevant is the Stoic tenet that the sapiens alone has friends, cf. SVF, III. 631 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν φιλίαν ἐν μόνοις τοῖς σπουδαίοις εἶναι διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα ... ἔν τε τοῖς φαύλοις μὴ εἶναι φιλίαν μηδένα τε τῶν φαύλων φίλον ἔχειν.

110. iam nunc adstringas, iam nunc granaria laxes adstringas and laxes do not mean exactly 'close' and 'open' as Conington translates: adstringas rather conveys the sense 'restrict access to' (as in Ov. Am. III.1.50 liminis adstricti) and laxes 'make access easier'. P. is asking, 'would you at one time

restrict access to the granaries, at another make access easier?'; but while the basic sense of P.'s question may be clear, its place here among the attributes of the Stoic sage is very hard to explain. What does controlling access to granaries have to do with the sapiens? And then there is the curious emphasis of iam nunc ... iam nunc: the combinations iam ... iam and nunc ... nunc are common enough, but P.'s conflation of both is evidently unparalleled (TLL, VII.1.118.77f.) and seems designed to indicate definite times for the different measures. A possible approach to this difficult line runs as follows. The subjunctives adstringas and laxes imply a hypothetical situation, the sense being 'would you (if you were in a position to do so) restrict access', etc. Now the sapiens will naturally take part in affairs of state, cf. SVF, III.616 consentaneum est huic naturae, ut sapiens velit gerere et administrare rem publicam, III.697 πολιτεύεσθαι φασὶ τὸν σοφὸν ἂν μὴ τι κωλύῃ. Line 110 could thus be a reference to the conduct of the sapiens in a position of political power. But the sense is still difficult. Why should the sapiens close or at least restrict the people's access to granaries? Such an action would probably cause hardship, cf. Suet. Gaius, 26.5 horreis praeclusis populo famem indixit. Yet perhaps the right time to close the granaries is in a time of plenty, just as the right time to open them would be during a food shortage, cf. Germanicus' action at Tac. Ann. II.59.1 levavitque apertis horreis pretia frugum multaque in vulgus grata usurpavit. This interpretation makes sense, but perhaps too

much needs to be read into P.'s words for it to be right. However, no other solution presents itself, and it may be that control of granaries was used as a stock instance of sapientia.

111. inque luto fixum possis transcendere nummum Borrowed from a similarly slavish context at Hor. Ep. I.16.63-5 qui melior servo, qui liberior sit avarus, / in triviis fixum cum se demittit ob assem, / non video. P.'s luto has the notion of abasement, cf. Hor. Ep. I.2.26 vixisset canis immundus vel amica luto sus. The thought of Horace and P. is expressed more forcefully and uncompromisingly at Petron. 43 paratus fuit quadrantem de stercore mordicus tollere.

112. As Conington notes, P. here adds a proviso to the foregoing line: merely to refuse to pick up a coin is not enough; the truly free man will feel no desire to pick it up.

nec gluttu sorbere salivam i.e. 'can you pass by a coin without saliva gathering in your mouth?'. gluttu, a strongly onomatopoeic word, is not recorded before this passage or elsewhere in Silver Latin; Ernout-Meillet, p.278, connecting it etymologically with gula and ingluvies, explain its sense here as haustu. gluttu sorbere looks to mean something like 'drink down greedily': for sorbeo meaning 'drink', cf. e.g. P. 4.16, 32, Juv. 14.255. Saliva gathers in the mouth as a result of appetite: Jahn compares Sen. Ep. 79.7 Aetna tibi salivam movet, Petron. 48 quidquid (i.e. vinum) ad salivam facit.

salivam Mercurialem A iunctura acris. The epithet presumably contains the notion of profit: for Mercury as the god of gain, cf. Plaut. Amph. 11ff., Stich. 404-5, P. 2.44, 6.62, Petron. 77, and the ancient derivation of Mercurius from merx at Fest. 111(L.). From the sense 'saliva of Mercury', one must infer some such idea as 'saliva associated with the god of gain' and thence 'saliva caused by the prospect of gain'.

113. 'haec mea sunt, teneo' Conington notes the juridical tone of the expression, comparing Virg. Ecl. 9.4 hic meus est; cf. also Gaius, Inst. IV.16 hunc ego hominem ex iure Quiritium meum esse aio. See 113-14n.

vere Emphatic, cf. frustra (71), and opposed to 115-17.

113-14. esto / liber The legal formula used in manumission, cf. Plaut. Men. 1029, 1148, Epid. 730, Ter. Ad. 970, Petron. 41. P. takes over the magistrate's role, but the freedom he bestows is moral, not civil (114n.).

114. liberque ac sapiens If a man is liber, he is a sapiens: the sapiens alone is free, while all other men are slaves, cf. SVF, III.355 μόνον τε ἐλεύθερον (sc. εἶναι τὸν σοφόν), τοὺς δὲ φαύλους δούλους, III.362, 364, 544, 593, Cic. Parad. 5.33-41. The attributes listed in 104-12, except that at 111-12, are less obviously manifestations of moral freedom than characteristics of the sapiens: the Stoic view requires that a man be a sapiens if he is to be truly free.

praetoribus ac Iove dextro An ironic collocation, pointing the contrast between civil and universal law. For Iove, see 98n.

115. sin tu, cum fueris nostrae paulo ante farinae Jahn compares Suet. Aug. 4.2 sic taxat Augustum: 'materna tibi farina est ex crudissimo Ariciae pistrino'; see also Otto, Sprichwörter, p.132. P.'s expression has given rise to two distinct interpretations. The scholiast says, qui te dudum unum de numero philosophorum dicebas, a view endorsed by Conington. Casaubon, however, explains the sense as 'since you were of our grain a moment ago': nostrae is said modestly, the idea being that no one suddenly becomes a sapiens. Casaubon's view is the right one. To begin with, if the scholiast is followed, paulo ante refers somewhat oddly to the two lines immediately preceding. More important, cum causal rather than cum concessive is demanded by the trend of thought: a contrast exists between 113-14 and 115-18, with P. saying, 'if you indeed have the attributes of a sapiens, you are free; but if your claim is false, you are not free'; the idea of deceitfulness on the part of the adversarius exactly fits the sense that the latter is not likely to have become a sapiens in a moment because he was an ordinary man just before; the clearly intended antithesis between 113-14 and 115-18 is greatly disrupted by the translation 'though you were a philosopher a little before'; in addition, the resultant sense of 115-17, 'if, though you were a philosopher a moment ago, you are being deceitful', is a meaningless contradiction.

116. pelliculam veterem retines The diminutive is attested

once each in Lucilius, Horace, Martial and Juvenal, and at Cic. Mur. 75,76; its use may be accompanied by ironic overtones, cf. Hor. Sat. II.5.38, Juv. 1.11. The scholiast says of P.'s expression tractum est ab Aethiope, qui non mutat pellem suam; Ἀέθιοπα σμῆνω is a common enough saying (cf. e.g. Lucian, Adv.Doct. 28, Zenob. I.46, Diog. I.19), but it is always used of attempting the impossible, and refers to a change of cutis, not of pellis. More relevant would seem to be the Aesopean fable of the ass dressed in a lion's skin (279, ed. Chambry). This is used by Horace and P. to make a moral point, pellis being outward appearance concealing inner viciousness, cf. Hor. Sat. II.1.64-5, Ep. I.16.45, P. 4.14; there may be a hint of this notion here, anticipating what immediately follows, but something different is suggested by veterem, 'you keep your old skin'. The same Aesopean fable is apparently the source of the proverb of staying in one's own skin, for which cf. Hor. Sat. I.6.22 quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem, Porph. ad l. ex proverbio sumptum est: eos namque, qui mediocritatis suae obliti maiora se ipsis adpetunt, solemus dicere non continere intra pelliculam suam, Mart. III.16.5-6 sed te, mihi crede, memento / nunc in pellicula, cerdo, tenere tua. P. varies the saying: for him, it is not desirable but bad to retain one's old skin, i.e. not to break away from one's established way of life. See also following notes.

fronte politus frons is often used of outward appearance opposed to inner reality, cf. e.g. Caecil. 79(R.³) fronte hilario, corde tristi, Cic. Planc. 16 tabella quae frontes

aperit hominum, mentes tegit; for P.'s opposition of frons and pectus (117), cf. Tac. Agr. 39.1 fronte laetus pectore anxius. politus is 'smoothed out, free from disfigurements'. Jahn and Conington argue that P.'s phrase is ill-suited to the metaphor of 116-17, particularly to pelliculam veterem retines; but the latter is balanced with the whole clause fronte .../...volpem, not merely with fronte politus, which is a concessive phrase within its clause.

117. astutam vapidō servas in pectore volpem The cunning and deceitful nature of the fox is proverbial, cf. Otto, Sprichwörter, p.379, s.v. vulpes (1). Jahn compares P.'s thought with the strikingly similar passage at Plato, Rep. II.365C πρόθυρα μὲν καὶ σχῆμα κύκλω περὶ ἑμαυτὸν σκιαγραφίαν ἀρετῆς περιγραπτέον, τὴν δὲ τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἀρχιλόχου ἀλώπεκα ἔλκτεον ἐξόπισθεν κερδαλέαν καὶ ποικίλην; in both cases, a contrast is drawn between the visible illusion of virtue and the fox, the hidden reality. There may also be present in P. the idea that a fox never changes its ways, cf. Pind. Ol. 10.19-20 τὸ γὰρ ἐμφυῆς οὔτ' αἴθων ἀλώπηξ / οὔτ' ἐρίβρομοι λέοντες διαλλάξαιντο ἦθος, Suet. Vesp. 16.3 proclamaverit vulpem pilum mutare, non mores, Otto, Sprichwörter, p.379 s.v. vulpes (2); this would tie in well with pelliculam veterem retines (116), though the idea of the fox changing its fur, if indeed felt, would not. Conington cites here Hor. Sat. II.3.186 astuta ingenuum vulpes imitata leonem, suggesting that P. has taken it into account 'so as to confuse the details of the metaphor'; but the fox disguised as a

lion is not attested as an established fable, and even if it were, its introduction here does little or nothing to further the effect of volpem. An Horatian passage of apparently more relevance is the difficult (and probably corrupt) numquam te fallent animi sub vulpe latentes (A.P. 437).

astutam The epithet occurs in verse only in comedy, Horace's hexameters, Propertius and Martial; it is quite frequent in Cicero, especially in his letters, but is avoided by Caesar and Livy, and found very rarely in Silver prose. For its meaning, cf. Tränkle, Sprachkunst, p.128, 'Es ist offensichtlich ... tadelnd oder verächtlich gebraucht. Cicero verbindet es mit obscurus (Off. III.57) und occultus (Fam. III.10.8). Besonders deutlich wird das Hor. Sat. I.3.61-2, wo davon gesprochen wird, wie der Neid selbst Vorzüge zu Fehlern stempelt: pro bene sano / ac non incauto fictum astutumque vocamus'.

vapido ... in pectore vapidus is not found in verse before P. and does not recur in Silver Latin poetry; it is used once in artistic prose, at Suet. Aug. 87 'vapide' se habere pro 'male', an instance of Augustus' unusual turns of phrase. The epithet is properly applied to flat wine (cf. e.g. Colum. XII.5.1, P. 6.17), and its transferred use in P. is probably analogous to that of vappa (77n.), from which it is derived by Ernout-Meillet, p.713: so 'in your worthless breast'.

118. quae dederam supra A reference to 113-14, as the scholiast says. For do of concession in argument, cf. Cic. Fin. IV.49,

Hor. Sat. I.10.5, Quint. I.10.11.

relego funemque reduco The sense of relego is uncertain: Conington's suggestion, that 'relego may very well mean "I revise", "reconsider"', cannot be right; perhaps the verb anticipates what immediately follows it and means 'wind in', as at Ov. Met. VIII.173 filo ... relecto: P. 'draws in' what he conceded. funemque reduco is not a wholly clear or particularly elaborate image (150n.): it seems to be based on two Horatian passages, Sat. II.7.18-20 quanto constantior isdem / in vitiis, tanto levius miser ac prior illo / qui iam contento, iam laxo fune laborat, and Ep. I.10.47-8 imperat aut servit collecta pecunia cuique, / tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem; in both these instances, the image is of a beast and the rope by which it is led; presumably, P. has slackened the rope that shackles the adversarius, but now pulls it tight as the latter is fully re-enslaved.

119. ratio See 96n.

119-20. digitum exere, peccas, / et quid tam parvum est? The imperative digitum exere is set in parataxis with peccas and has the force of a si-clause (Kühner-Stegmann, II.165). To move a finger is proverbial for the slightest and most trivial action, cf. Cic. Caecin. 71 quid agat, quo modo adgrediatur iudicem, qua denique digitum proferat, non habet, Fin. III.57, Otto, Sprichwörter, pp.115f. For the Stoics, every action in life, no matter how small or insignificant, requires a firm

basis in philosophy, cf. SVF, III.730 οὐδὲ τὸν δάκτυλον ὡς ἔτυχε σαλεύειν τῷ σοφῷ ὁ λόγος ἐπιτρέπει, ὡς ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ Στωϊκοί, Epict. frag. 53 φιλοσοφία φησὶν ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸν δάκτυλον ἐκτείνειν εἰκῆ προσήκει.

120. nullo ture litabis The sacral language looks ahead to nefas (122) and back to Iove (114), the divine embodiment of natura, the controlling force in the universe. ture implies splendour of sacrifice, cf. Plin. N.H. praef. 11 verum dis lacte rustici multaeque gentes et mola tantum salsa litant qui non habent tura. litatio is a successful sacrifice, cf. Plaut. Poen. 488-9 tum me Iuppiter / faciat ut semper sacrificem nec umquam litem, Liv. XXVII.23.4 per dies aliquot hostiae maiores sine litatione caesae diuque non impetrata pax deum. The construction of lito with an ablative is regular, cf. Cic. Div. II.36 proxima hostia litatur saepe pulcherrime, P. 2.75, Suet. Iul. 81, Gell. IV.6.6; lito with an accusative is poetical, occurring first in Virg. Aen. IV.50 sacrisque litatis and then in Propertius, Ovid, Lucan and Statius. As Conington says, the following ut-clause gives P.'s litabis the force of impetrabis.

121. Commentators note that the language is vaguely reminiscent of Hor. Sat. I.3.76-8 denique, quatenus excidi penitus vitium irae, / cetera item nequeunt stultis haerentia, cur non / ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur ... ?, where Horace is contesting the Stoic paradox that all wrongdoings are equal. For P.'s thought, Jahn compares Plut. Mor. 25C μήτε τι φαῦλον

ἀρετῇ προσεῖναι μήτε κακία χρηστὸν ἀξιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντως μὲν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμαρτωλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἀμαθῆ, περὶ πάντα δ' αὖ κατορθοῦν τὸν ἀστεῖον.

haereat An abstract noun as the grammatical subject of haereo is almost always something undesirable, cf. Ter. Hec. 229 in te omnis haeret culpa sola, Cic. Cael. 15 crimen ... haerebit, Cat. 1.13 dedecus ... haeret in fama, Div. I.30 peccatum haereat, N.D. II.11 haerere in re publica religionem, Hor. Sat. I.3.77, Sen. Ep. 104.20 haerebit tibi avaritia. Only rarely is the subject something desirable, as here, cf. Cic. Verr. I.3 auctoritas ... haerebit.

stultis See 93n.

brevis ... semuncia recti The metaphorical usage of semuncia does not appear before P. or again in Silver Latin. For brevis, commentators compare Hor. Sat. II.2.37 breve pondus, 'small weight'. But the combination of brevis with what is in itself small, semuncia, is decidedly pleonastic, and although pleonasm is not unknown in satire, P. does not often waste words. An attractive view is put forward by Conington, who suggests the idea of a 'short measure', comparing curto centusse (191); this approach, far from involving brevis ... semuncia in tautology, greatly adds to the sardonic tone of semuncia; it is difficult to be certain that Conington is right, since brevis is apparently nowhere else so used; but then, neither is curtus, which is practically synonymous with brevis.

122. haec miscere nefas It is contrary to divine law for men to be partly good and partly bad: a man is either a sapiens or a fool, cf. SVF, I.216 ἀρέσκει γὰρ τῷ τε Ζήνωνι καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Στωικοῖς φιλοσόφοις δύο γένη τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, τὸ μὲν τῶν σπουδαίων, τὸ δὲ τῶν φαύλων.

fossor Implies rusticity and ignorance, like peronatus arator (102), cf. Catull. 22.9-11 bellus ille et urbanus / Suffenus unus caprimulgus aut fossor / rursus videtur, Juv. 11.80.

The word may also reflect a Stoic idea, cf. SVF, III.677 φασι δὲ καὶ ἄγροικον εἶναι πάντα φαῦλον· τὴν γὰρ ἀγροικίαν ἀπειρίαν εἶναι τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐθῶν καὶ νόμων.

123. For dancing compared to philosophical skills and knowledge, see 100-4n.

tris tantum ad numeros in numerum and ad numerum are common enough expressions for 'in time to the rhythm' (e.g. Lucr. II. 631, Virg. Ecl. 6.27, Ov. Met. XIV.520), but as Nettleship says, they seem to be irrelevant here. Jahn explains that each dance (motus) has its own steps (numeri), comparing Sen. Tranq.An. 17.4 Scipio triumphale illud ac militare corpus movebat ad numeros, Juv. 6.249 omnes numeros implet; P.'s meaning is then 'nor could you, rustic as you are, dance even as far as three steps Bathyllus' "Satyr"'. tris looks to represent any small number: it is commonly so used with verba, cf. Otto, Sprichwörter, pp.366f.

Satyrum moveare The 'middle' voice of moveo is first used to mean 'dance' at Hor. A.P. 232 matrona moveri iussa; Horace

is also first to use moveor for salto transitive at Ep. II.2.125
nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur. To dance the
 part of the Satyr is an especially delicate task and much more
 demanding than the role of Polyphemus who must be represented
 as boorish (Kiessling-Heinze on Hor. Ep. II.2.125).

Bathylli For Bathyllus Alexandrinus, cf. Gensel, R-E, III.137.
 56ff. Bathyllus was a highly accomplished and renowned
 pantomime, who made his name in comic parts; he flourished
 in the Augustan period and was a favourite of Maecenas (Tac.
Ann. I.54.2), and his art was known at least until Plutarch's
 time. He is mentioned as the instance of an outstanding
 pantomime at Sen. Contr. III.praef.16.

124. 'liber ego' The adversarius says what Davus challenges
 Horace to say in the face of a similar Stoic onslaught at Sat.
II.7.92 'liber, liber sum' dic age. non quis.

unde datum hoc sumis For the phraseology, cf. Hor. Sat. I.4.
 79-80 unde petitum / hoc in me iacis?, II.2.31 unde datum
sentis ... ? .

tot subdite rebus The first explicit mention of moral enslave-
 ment, the argument having hitherto been concerned with the
 differences between legal and moral freedom; this shift of
 emphasis opens the way for the remainder of the poem. Jahn
 compares P.'s expression with Hor. Sat. II.7.75-6 tune mihi

dominus, rerum imperiis hominumque / tot tantisque minor ... ?:

P. compresses what he borrows until only the bare essentials are left. For the rare use of subditus to mean 'subject to', cf. Paneg. Messall. 67-8 inferno Plutonis subdita regno / magna deum proles.

125. an dominum ignoras nisi quem vindicta relaxat? The idea at the end of the previous line is taken up and expanded: a man's legal master is not his only dominus. For vindicta, see 76n. relaxat is used elliptically: none of the usual meanings of the verb, such as 'unloose, slacken, alleviate', fits here; quem vindicta relaxat is to be understood as something like 'cuius imperium vindicta relaxat' (Bo).

126. A legal master's everyday command to his slave. For the punctuation at the end of the line, see 126-7n.

Crispini ... balnea There is no evidence to corroborate the existence of 'the baths of Crispinus'. The probable reason for P.'s use of the name has been found by N. Rudd, Phoenix, 19(1965), 83: 'Crispinus is neither the builder of the baths nor the attendant. He owes his connexion with ablutions to Hor. Sat. I.3.137-9 dum tu quadrante lavatum / rex ibis neque te quisquam stipator ineptum / praeter Crispinum sectabitur'.

126-7. Clausen has a comma at the end of 126; but increpuit clearly refers to the threatening tone adopted in 'cessas

nugator?', and the latter and the everyday command of 126 must be clearly distinguished. It is more convincing to follow the commentators, who place a strong punctuation mark after defer; then the order of the dominus stands alone, and increpuit introduces 'cessas nugator?'. A comma after increpuit, inserted by commentators as well as by Clausen, seems unnecessary.

127. increpuit The word only rarely introduces direct speech, cf. TLL, VII.1.1053.25ff. Its subject is obvious from the context.

'cessas nugator?' The verb bears the stamp of colloquial speech, cf. Plaut. Epid. 684 quid nunc cessas?, Ter. Andr. 979 quid cessas?, Phorm. 565 cessas?. nugator is used by Cato (ap. Gell. XI.8.3), Ennius, Plautus and Lucilius; outside archaic Latin it occurs a few times in Cicero and Gellius, and once in Livy; it is avoided by Horace, Petronius, Martial and Juvenal. nugator apparently contains the broad pejorative sense of 'good-for-nothing', as probably at Ennius, Scaen. 423(V.²) illic est nugator nihili non nauci homo.

127-8. servitium acre / te nihil inpellit As Conington notes, the picture may be of a goad used on a horse, cf. Hor. Sat. II.7.93-4 urget enim dominus mentem non lenis et acris / subiectat lasso stimulos versatque negantem; acer is a stock epithet of goads, cf. TLL, I.357.33ff.; while impello is occasionally used of driving or spurring on a horse, cf. Stat.

Theb. VII.83, Sil. II.71, VII.697, though it is by no means a vox propria. The image is explicit in Horace, but only suggested by P. (150n.); and Horace applies it to moral slavery, P. to legal slavery.

128-9. nec quicquam extrinsecus intrat / quod nervos agitet

The notion of men as marionettes worked by their passions or impulses appears first at Plato, Laws, I.644E τόδε δὲ ἴσμεν

ὅτι ταῦτα τὰ πάθη ἐν ἡμῖν, οἷον νεῦρα ἢ σμηρινθοί τινες

ἐνοῦσαι σπῶσι τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἀνθέλκουσιν ἐναντία

οὔσαι ἐπ' ἐναντίας πράξεις. P. is probably influenced by

Horace's use of it at Sat. II.7.80-2 nempe / tu mihi qui

imperitas alii servis miser atque / duceris ut nervis alienis

mobile lignum. The image is particularly favoured by Marcus

Aurelius, cf. e.g. Meditations, II.2, VI.16, 28, XII.19;

see Jahn for further references. However, P. uses the idea

in a new way: the puppet is thought to be worked not by

passions but by a person's commands; in Horace, the puppet

is a moral slave, in P. it is a legal slave; the manumitted

slave, unimpressed by an order, is not jerked into action.

The twist that P. gives the idea seems successful: passions

exist inside, not outside, a man; and if anything works a

marionette, it should logically be an external influence, as

in Gell. XIV.1.23 ut plane homines non, quod dicitur, λογικὰ

ζῶα, sed ludicra et ridenda quaedam neurospasta esse videantur,

si nihil sua sponte, nihil arbitrato suo faciunt, sed ducentibus

stellis et aurigantibus. Nevertheless, it is strongly implied

in the lines following that the moral slave is as much a

puppet as the legal slave, though the former is worked from within.

128. extrinsecus The ponderous word, its size disproportionate to its sense, is freely admitted in prose but occurs elsewhere in verse only in Lucretius and Varro.

129. nervos Ambiguous, denoting both the strings of the marionette and bodily sinews.

intus et in iecore aegro intus is opposed to extrinsecus: what is relevant is the man's inner being (21-2n.). In Plato, Tim. 71C, the liver is said to possess no reason and to be the seat of the lower passions, a view generally followed by the Romans: thus iecur is the seat of anger at Hor. Sat. I.9.66, Juv. 1.45, of lust at Hor. Carm. I.25.15, IV.1.12, Ep. I.18.72, Sen. H.O. 574, of jealousy at Hor. Carm. I.13.4, and of fear at Sen. H.O. 709, 1677; from the liver spring domini (130), the enslaving low passions that are mentioned in the final portion of the poem. aegro denotes the sickness of the spirit that allows itself to be thus dominated, the epithet reflecting the common equation between physical and moral illness (58n.).

130-1. The argument has come full circle from 124: a morally enslaved man is no better off than a slave at the command of his legal master.

130. qui tu inpunitior exis Another Horatian reminiscence, cf. Sat. II.7.104-6 obsequium ventris mihi perniciosius est cur? / tergo plector enim. qui tu inpunitior illa / quae parvo sumi nequeunt obsonia captas?; in both cases, the point of comparison of inpunitior is a slave who is beaten. The comparative of impunis occurs outside P. and Hor. Sat. II.7.105 only at Liv. III.50.7.

131. scutica The word occurs first in Hor. Sat. I.3.119; it is absent from artistic prose and is attested elsewhere in verse only in Domitius Marsus (ap. Suet. Gramm. 9) and at Juv. 6.480.

metus ... erilis The epithet stands for an objective genitive, cf. Plaut. Amph. 1069 erilis ... metus, Most. 3 erilis per-
mities, Sall. Iug. 41.2 metus hostilis, Hofmann-Szantyr, p.66. erilis is frequent in archaic Latin, used occasionally by Horace, Virgil and Ovid, and then almost entirely confined to the higher types of Silver Latin verse.

132-56. Conflicting abstracts are personified elsewhere in classical literature. Πενία and Πλοῦτος appear in Aristophanes' Plutus, and a contest between Right and Wrong (ὁ Κρείττων Λόγος and ὁ Ἥττων Λόγος) is held at Aristoph. Nub. 889-1114. Cleanthes wrote a dialogue between Reason and Anger, cf. SVF, I.570 Λογισμός. τί ποτ' ἔσθ' ὃ βούλει, Θυμέ; τοῦτό μοι φράσον. / Θυμός. <σ>έ γ', ᾧ Λογισμέ, πᾶν ὃ βούλομαι ποιεῖν. / Α. βασιλικὸν <εἶ>πε<ς>. πλὴν ὁμῶς εἰπὸν πάλιν. / Θ. ᾧ ἄν

ἐπιθυμῶ, ταῦθ' ὅπως γενήσεται. Vita and Mors apparently confronted each other in Ennius (Quint. IX.2.36). But the ultimate model for the dramatic arrangement of P.'s passage is Prodicus' tale of the Choice of Heracles (Xen. Mem. II.1.21-33): 'Αρετή and Κακία, while seeking to get the better of each other in argument, do so only with regard to a third party, namely the youthful Heracles, who must choose between the ways of life they represent; in addition, each of Prodicus' personifications is endowed with a distinct personality, which is brought out by her manner, appearance and arguments. Prodicus' story has clearly influenced Ovid in Am. III.1, where grim Tragoedia and light-hearted Elegia put their respective cases to the poet, and Silius at XV.18-128, where Virtus and Voluptas compete for Scipio's allegiance. Avaritia and Luxuria, though both vices, are opposed types (142n.); and while considerably less corporeal than their predecessors in Prodicus (and Ovid), they are strongly characterised by their methods of persuasion: Avaritia is hectoring and abusive (132-3n.), Luxuria seductive and more gentle (142n.). As might be expected, the latter's advice bears some similarity to that of Κακία/Εὐδαιμονία, cf. Xen. Mem. II.1.23-5 τῶν μὲν τερπνῶν οὐδενὸς ἄγευστος ἔση, τῶν δὲ χαλεπῶν ἄπειρος διαβιώση. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολέμων οὐδὲ πραγμάτων φροντιεῖς, ἀλλὰ σκοπούμενος διέση τί ἂν κεχαρισμένον ἢ σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν εὐροις ... ἔάν δέ ποτε γένηται τις ὑποψία σπάνεως ἀφ' ᾧν ἔσται ταῦτα, οὐ φόβος μὴ σε ἀγάγω ἐπὶ τὸ πονοῦντα καὶ ταλαιπωροῦντα τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ταῦτα πορίζεσθαι, κτλ. By conflating with Prodicus' framework the Stoic doctrine of moral slavery and elements of conventional Roman ethics, particularly in the

shape of the mercator (132-3n.), P. has made his setting much less static than Prodicus' or Ovid's: the moral slave does not stand listening to two sets of instructions delivered together, but carries on with the business of life while the dominae force themselves on his attention.

132. mane piger stertis The scene changes as the libertus disappears and the poet moves abruptly into a dramatic representation of spiritual enslavement. piger anticipates the sleeper's reluctant response to the demands of Avaritia.

132-3. The thrice-repeated surge denotes the implacable and bullying nature of Avaritia; so also the imperatives advehe (134), tolle (136), verte, iura (137), and the insulting baro (138). It is not difficult to reason why Avaritia is portrayed in this manner: a man seeks wealth because of avarice; to build up a store of wealth requires effort and often involves great dangers and difficulties; avarice and personal risk thus belong together, a combination often illustrated, as here, by the instance of the mercator, cf. e.g. Hor. Sat. I.4.29-32, Carm. I.31.10-15, Ep. I.1.45-6, Sen. Brev.Vit. 2.1 alium mercandi praeceptis cupiditas circa omnis terras omnia maria spe lucri ducit, Plin. N.H. II.125 piratae primum coegere mortis periculo in mortem ruere et hiberna experiri maria, nunc idem hoc avaritia cogit. Avaritia demands that peril and hardship be undertaken to satisfy her, and in order to secure obedience of such harsh demands, she must be tyrannical and unshakeably insistent.

132. eia The exclamation, a borrowing of εἶα, is found most often in comedy but occurs also in the higher types of poetry. For its combination with an imperative, see Hofmann, Lat.Umg., p.25. The context of P.'s single use of eia is reminiscent of Hor. Sat. II.6.23-4 eia, / ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urge.

133-4. negas ... 'non queo.' ... / 'et quid agam?' A progressive weakening of defiance is indicated.

134. rogat The variant rogas is unmetrical, and rogat has been adequately defended. Clausen, p.xxi, quotes Ov. Am. I.8.33-6, where erubuit! (35) is the bawd's irritated exclamation at her pupil. Clausen also refers to Thomas, Mnemosyne, 49(1921), 39, who quotes Donat. on Ter. Andr.

877 ut solent irascentes, vertit orationem a secunda ad tertiam personam, ab ea, cum qua loquebatur, ad aliam.

en In comedy en is always found as an interrogative particle combined with unquam, i.e. enumquam, a usage continued by Virgil, Livy and Silius. It is more often used with demonstrative force as an apparent equivalent of ecce, cf. Virg. Ecl. 5.65-6 en quattuor aras: / ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebos, and introduces excited questions or exclamations. Other instances in P. are at 1.26, 3.5, 5.154.

saperdas advehe Ponto For saperda, cf. Fest. 434(L.) saperda genus pessimi piscis; for its Pontic origin, cf. Arcestr. 38.3

(Brandt) σαπέροδη δ' ἐνέπω κλαίειν μακρά, Ποντικῶ ὄψω.

135. castoreum Another Pontic ware, cf. Virg. Georg. I.58-9, Plin. N.H. XXXII.27. It was supposedly obtained from the beaver's inguinal glands, cf. Plin. N.H. XXXII.26 fibris quos castoras vocant et castorea testes eorum. For its various medicinal uses, cf. Plin. N.H. XXXII.28-31.

stuppas A borrowing of στύπη, the word here means 'flax', cf. Fest. 418(L.) stuppam linum inpolitum appellant Graeci Dorii. stuppa may also denote low-quality flax, as in Plin. N.H. XIX.17 quod proximum cortici fuit stuppa appellatur, deterioris lini, lucernarum fere luminibus aptior. P. is presumably thinking of Egypt in particular as a source of flax (Plin. N.H. XIX.13ff.).

hebenum First mentioned in Latin literature at Virg. Georg. II.117 sola India nigrum fert ebenum. Virgil's opinion agrees with Theophr. H.P. IV.4.6, but according to Herodot. III.97 and Plin. N.H. VI.197, the source of ebony is Ethiopia. If Isid. XVII.7.36 is to be believed, ebony comes from both India and Ethiopia.

tus Rome appears to have been dependent on Arabia for incense, cf. Plin. N.H. XII.51 tura praeter Arabiam nullis, ac ne Arabiae quidem universae.

lubrica Coa Commentators are divided over Coa, some taking it as 'Coan wines', others as 'Coan garments'. Both are possible

views, but established Latin usage greatly favours Coa in the sense of 'Coan garments', cf. Hor. Sat. I.2.101-2 altera nil obstat: Cois tibi paene videre est / ut nudam, ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi, Prop. II.1.5 sive illam Cois fulgentem incedere cogis, IV.2.23 indue me Cois, Ov. A.A. II.297-8 sive erit in Tyriis, Tyrios laudabis amictus: / sive erit in Cois, Coa decere puta. Commentators who understand Coa to refer to silk translate lubrica as 'diaphanous', 'gleaming'; but while Coan dresses are often said to be transparent (Amelung, R-E, IV.127.7ff.), P.'s epithet does not admit of this sense; lubrica, as often, means 'smooth', a perfectly suitable description of silk. As for the alternative interpretation of Coa, Cos is indeed famous for its wine (e.g. Varro, R.R. II.praef.3, Plin. N.H. XV.66), and Coum means 'Coan wine' at Hor. Sat. II.4.29 albo non sine Coo. But if Coa is taken to mean 'Coan wines', lubrica is not easy: perhaps it may again mean 'smooth', since wine from Cos is noted for its sweetness (Plin. N.H. XV.66) and sweet wines (at least in English) are said to have a quality of 'smoothness'. Nevertheless, it is much more natural to understand lubrica Coa as a reference to silks.

136. tolle recens primus piper Commentators compare the phraseology and content of Lucil. 198-9(M.) sicut cum primos ficos propola recentis / protulit et pretio ingenti dat primitus paucos, though recens in P. must mean 'fresh-brought', as Conington says. For the source of pepper, see 55n.

et sitiante camelo The best-supported reading is et, the

variants being e and ex. Housman, CQ, 7(1913), 24-5, rejects the preposition as yielding the sense 'out of the camel'; he prefers et: 'Since the adjective primus and the abl.abs. sitiente camelo are both of them adverbial adjuncts to the predicate, and therefore parallel in force though not in form, they are quite correctly united by the conjunction.' For the construction he adduces a number of parallels, to which more are added by Clausen. T.F. Brunner, 'A Note on Persius, 5.134ff.', CQ n.s., 21(1971), 487, argues that Housman overstates the case against e camelo which may easily mean 'from the camel's back', and that if et is adopted, the parallel ideas primus and sitiente camelo are awkwardly separated by piper. But et remains preferable to e: it is much the more difficult reading, as Brunner himself notes; the intervening piper is hardly surprising for P., and anyway not a source of great difficulty or obscurity; et gives excellent sense: the merchant is to make off with the pepper even before the camel, now unloaded, has had a drink.

sitiente camelo The expression is $\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ and has the same point as recens and primus: a merchant must be ahead of his rivals if he is to profit, cf. Hor. Ep. I.6.32-5. The camel's ability to do without water for lengthy periods was evidently well-known to the Romans, cf. Plin. N.H. VIII.68, and P.'s phrase implies the end of a long journey: the camel or caravan is perhaps thought to have reached a coastal terminus of the homeward overland spice route, such as Byzantium, Antioch or Tyre (Miller, The Spice Trade, Map 5).

137. verte aliquid; iura P.'s words are abbreviated and obscure. The scholiast glosses verte as negotiare et speciem pro specie commuta, but Jahn's supporting reference to Plaut. Curc. 484 vel qui ipsi vorsant vel qui taliit ubi vorsentur praebeant is unacceptable since the meaning of the line is quite unknown. What the scholiast probably means is that verte stands for muta or commuta, a very unusual variation but, for P., not a particularly striking one; and that verte contains a reference to trading is suggested by what precedes it: verte aliquid will then be resumptive and summarizing, i.e. 'traffic in something'. But the scholiast's view seems to break down irretrievably on iura, which would be isolated in sense and intolerably abrupt. Jahn puts forward a more attractive possibility: that verte means versuram fac. For versura, cf. Fest. 520(L.) versuram facere mutuum pecuniam sumere ex eo dictum est, quod initio qui mutuabantur ab aliis, non ut domum ferrent, sed ut aliis solverent, velut verterent creditorem. If verte does stand for versuram fac, then a technical locution has been remarkably compressed, though there can be no objection to aliquid in these circumstances, since an accusative is required to sustain the altered construction. The idea of borrowing in verte aliquid is strongly supported by iura and what follows. If, as seems likely, verte aliquid refers to the borrowing of money, the most natural meaning of iura is 'swear you will pay back what you have borrowed'; the suggestion of Jahn and Conington that iura means 'swear that you never received the loan' is unconvincingly complex and fatuously anticipates the notion of perjury in the words that follow.

sed Iuppiter audiet Zeus is a guarantor of oaths in Greek thought, cf. e.g. Soph. Phil. 1324, Eur. Hipp. 1025. Among the Romans, Jupiter has various connexions with oaths: as Dius Fidius, he defends fides (K. Latte, Römische Religionsgeschichte (Munich, 1960), pp.126ff.); as Iuppiter Lapis, he punishes perjury, cf. Liv. I.24.7, Fest. 102(L.); his name is taken in oaths on countless occasions, and the title Iuppiter Iurarius is recorded (Latte, p.128, n.1).

138. baro The word is attested before P. only in Lucil. 1121(M.) and Cicero (not his speeches), and occurs elsewhere in Silver Latin in Petronius. It often carries clear overtones of stupidity, cf. e.g. Cic. Fin. II.76 nos barones stupemus, Fam. IX.26.3. Walde-Hofmann, I.97, derive baro from Etruscan.

regustatum digito terebrare salinum Casaubon cites an allegedly parallel expression in Apoll. Tyan. Ep. 7 πάντα φασὶ δεῖν τὸν ἔμπορον κάλων σεῖειν· ἐμοὶ δ' εἴη τὴν ἄλσαν τρυπᾶν ἐν Θέμιδος οἴκῳ, where the busy and lucrative life of the merchant is contrasted with the writer's own. But the 'letters' of Apollonius of Tyana are generally regarded as spurious, and though this proposition has not been fully demonstrated, it seems unwise to base any conclusions on a text which is the subject of so much doubt. P.'s expression may be understood without reference to Apollonius: salt is the poor man's food, cf. Diog. Laert. VI.57 ἀλλὰ βούλομαι ... ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄλα λείχειν ἢ παρὰ Κρατέρῳ τῆς πολυτελοῦς πραπέζης ἀπολαύειν, Plut. Mor. 684F πρὸς ἄλα δειπνεῖν καὶ κύαμον, Otto, Sprichwörter,

p.306, s.v. sal (3); moralizing references to salt cellars are fairly common, cf. Callim. Epig. 47(Pf.), where the ἀλῶα is a mark of avoidance of financial debt, Hor. Carm. II.16. 13-14 vivitur parvo bene, cui paternum / splendet in mensa tenui salinum, P. 3.25 est tibi far modicum, purum et sine labe salinum; just as moralizing references to salt and salt cellars generally are proverbial, so the specific idea of scraping out a salt cellar may be taken as such.

regustatum The verb is first attested in Cicero's Letters to Atticus where it is always used in the transferred sense of 're-read'; the only other authors who appear to use it are P. and Seneca (e.g. Prov. 3.13).

139. perages sc. vitam, aetatem, annos, etc. The ellipse is of a common type, found frequently, for instance, with ago (TLL, I.1401.51ff.) and dego (TLL, V.1.385.27ff.). perago absolute is probably a usage extended by P. from these and other verbs.

vivere cum Iove Some commentators compare the philosophical dictum οὐζῆν θεοῖς (Marc. Aur. 5.27) which represents the truly good way of life. There may be just a hint of this notion in P., but no more. The expression is not to be taken in isolation but related to the slave's protest at 137.

vivere cum aliquo is a common idiom meaning 'be on friendly terms with someone', cf. Ter. Eun. 410, Cic. de Or. I.191, Hor. Sat. I.3.57, 4.81, II.1.76, etc. P. is saying 'if you

want to be on friendly terms with Jupiter', i.e. not incur his enmity as a result of perjury.

140. All resistance on the part of the slave collapses and the change of scene shows that Avaritia has had her way.

pellem A traveller's provision of some kind. Jahn refers to Petron. 102 ego vos in duas iam pelles coniciam vinctosque loris inter vestimenta habebo ... deinde cum ventum fuerit in portum, sine ulla suspicione pro sarcinis vos efferam; so pelles are used for wrapping luggage taken aboard ship. Alternatively pellis may be an article of protective clothing, cf. Colum. I.8.9 vento frigore pluviaque quae cuncta prohibentur pellibus manicatis.

oenophorum Another provision, cf. Lucil. 139(M.), Hor. Sat. I.6.109. The word is avoided by artistic prose writers and found elsewhere in verse only in Lucilius, Horace's Satires, Martial and Juvenal.

141-2. trabe vasta / Aegaeum rapias The language is mock-epic. trabes meaning 'ship', an imitation of the Greek δόρυ, is first in Ennius, Ann. 616(V.²) and then very largely confined to the higher poetic genres, cf. Catull. 4.3, Virg. Aen. III.191, IV.566, Hor. Carm. I.1.13, Ov. Pont. I.3.76, P. 1.89, 6.27, Sen. Agam. 120, Stat. Theb. V.422, Ach. I.44, Silv. III.2.70, Sil. VI.523, Juv. 14.276, 296. The tone of trabe contrasts strongly with navem (141) which is excluded from Silver epic

(Axelson, Unp. Wörter, p.50). vastus, absent from Horace's hexameters, Petronius and Juvenal, is particularly favoured by Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Seneca the tragedian, and Silver epic. The size of the ship is irrelevant to the fundamental picture: vasta is apparently included only to further the exaggerated style. Aegaeum rapias is a type of locution extremely common in higher poetry, especially epic: corripio is used in both Augustan and Silver epic, cf. e.g. Virg. Aen. I.418 corripuere viam, V.145, Ov. Met. II.158, Stat. Theb. VI.594, Val. Flacc. III.501, but the simple rapiro occurs in these expressions for the first time in Silver Latin, cf. e.g. Luc. IV. 151-2 rapuitque ... / ... iter, V.403 inde rapit cursus, Stat. Theb. V.3 campum sonipes rapit, 655 longo rapit arva morantia passu.

142. sollers Luxuria The characterisation of Luxuria is very different from that of hectoring Avaritia. Luxuria naturally has no need to resort to bullying tactics: by pointing out the miseries involved in subservience to Avaritia and reminding the slave that life is to be lived to the full, she plays on his innate weaknesses. The opposed tendencies of avaritia and luxuria are recognised elsewhere by moralists, cf. e.g. Sall. Cat. 5.8 mores quos pessuma ac divorsa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant, Sen. Ep. 56.5 dum inter se non rixentur cupiditas et timor, dum avaritia luxuriaque non dissideant nec altera alteram vexet.

143-4. quo deinde, insane, ruis, quo? / quid tibi vis? The questions are of an established kind. The first is reminiscent

of Hor. Epod. 7.1 quo quo scelesti ruitis? and Virg. Aen. V.741 quo deinde ruis?. For quid tibi vis?, cf. Ter. Heaut. 61 quid tibi vis?, Cic. de Or. II.269 'quid tibi vis', inquit, 'insane?', Hor. Sat. I.2.69 quid vis tibi?, II.6.29 quid vis, insane?, Prop. I.5.3 quid tibi vis, insane?, For deinde, cf. Virg. Aen. V.741, IX.781 quo deinde fugam quo tenditis?.

144. calido sub pectore For the epithet, cf. 4.7. Bile is often said to 'burn' or 'boil', cf. e.g. Hor. Sat. I.9.66 meum iecur urere bilis, Epod. 11.15-16 meis inaestuet praecordiis / libera bilis, Mart. VI.64.24 si quid nostrae tibi bilis inusserit ardor. Ancient psychology tends to regard bile as 'hot', cf. Plato, Tim. 85E, Galen, XI. 646 (K.). In addition, however, bile is thought to be caused by an excess of heat, cf. Galen, II.117-18 (K.) (after Hippocrates, Aristotle, Praxagoras and Philotimus) καὶ τῶν ἡλικιῶν ὡσαύτως χολωδέστεραι μὲν αἰ θερμότεραι φύσει, φλεγματοδέστεραι δ' αἰ ψυχρότεραι. καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων δὲ καὶ τῶν χωρῶν καὶ τῶν ὥρῶν καὶ πολλὸ δὴ πρότερον ἔτι τῶν φύσεων αὐτῶν αἰ μὲν ψυχρότεραι φλεγματοδέστεραι, χολωδέστεραι δ' αἰ θερμότεραι. calido in P. could thus refer to either the symptom of excess bile or its cause.

mascula bilis The noun is probably unpoetic, being found often in prose, comedy and satire, but occurring in the higher poetic genres only at Lucr. IV.664, Hor. Carm. I.13.4 and Stat. Silv. II.1.58. Bile is very commonly supposed to be the cause of insania, cf. Hor. Sat. II.3.141, Sen. Ep. 94.17, etc., but mascula is a strikingly unusual epithet for it. Jahn explains it as 'robusta', Conington says 'of superior strength', Bo

'fortis, virilis'; all are possible meanings of masculus, but none is satisfactory in this context: the idea of 'strong' bile seems to have been non-existent in ancient medicine. However, if mascula is taken in its basic sense of 'male', P.'s expression becomes comprehensible: according to Hippocrates, males are more bilious than females because of their position in the womb, cf. Galen, XVIIA.1008(K.) διὰ τοῦτο φησι (sc. ὁ Ἱπποκράτης) τὸ ἄρρεν στερεώτερόν τε καὶ χολωδέστερον καὶ ἐναιμότερον γένεσθαι, διότι καὶ τὸ χωρὶον ἐν ᾧ κύσεται τοιοῦτον ὑπάρχει. mascula is appropriate not only because its use corresponds to contemporary medical beliefs but because it is in the mouth of a female, Luxuria.

145. intumuit The verb is found first in Hor. Epod. 16.52 and then in Ovid and Silver Latin. The mention of swollenness owes something to Hor. Carm. I.13.4 fervens difficili bile tumet iecur, though in P. the bile itself is said to swell, cf. 3.8 turgescit vitrea bilis.

extinxerit The suggested metaphor is of dousing the flames of bile (144n.).

urna cicutae cicutae continues the idea contained in calido (144) and extinxerit: for its cooling effect on the body, cf. Plin. N.H. XXV.151 semini et foliis (sc. cicutae) refrigeratoria vis, sic et necat. incipiunt algere ab extremitatibus corporis, Galen, XII.55(K.) κώνειον ὅτι τῆς ἄκρως ψυχτικῆς ἐστὶ δυνάμεως ἅπαντες ἴσασιν. cicuta as a cure for insania

seems paralleled only in Hor. Ep. II.2.52-4 *sed quod non desit habentem / quae poterunt unquam satis expurgare cicutae, / ni melius dormire putem quam scribere versus?*, where, however, Porphyrio says, *cicutam autem pro elleboro posuit*. Perhaps the notion in both Horace and P. is of a drastic remedy, cf. Plin. N.H. XXV.154 *remedia in quibus bibenda censetur (cicuta) non equidem praeceperim*. urna is about three gallons, cf. Maecian. Distrib. 79 *quadrantal, quod nunc plerique amphoram vocant, habet urnas duas*, Isid. XVI.26.13 *recipit autem (sc. amphora) vini vel aquae pedem quadratum*. For the exaggeration, cf. Hor. A.P. 300 *tribus Anticyris caput insanabile*, P. 4.16 *Anticyras ... sorbere meracas*.

146. tu ... tibi Nisbet, 'Persius', p.64, notes the emphasis: 'You cross the sea? You eat your dinner ... ?'. The idea seems to be that Luxuria knows her man too well to believe him more fit for discomfort than for the easy life.

mare transilias The verb may imply reckless daring, cf. Hor. Carm. I.3.23-4 *si tamen impiae / non tangenda rates transiliunt vada*, Sil. IV.70-1 *sacros montes rupesque profundas / transiluit*, Juv. 10.151-2 *Pyrenaeum / transilit*, 14.279 *aequora transiliet*. With transilias, one is led to expect an enumeration of the dangers of the proverbially perilous sea; but Luxuria, true to her nature, concentrates on the discomforts: for her, madness and recklessness consist in readiness to forego the good life.

tibi torta cannabe fulto cannabis, a popular borrowing of $\kappa\delta\nu\nu\alpha\beta\iota\varsigma$, is absent from artistic prose and found only here in verse. torta cannabe means 'rope', cf. Varro, R.R. I.22.1 quae fiunt de cannabi ... ut funes, restes, tegetes, Fest. 489 (L.); for the use of such ropes aboard ship, cf. e.g. Ov. Fast. III.587 dumque parant torto subducere carbasa lino. fulto is 'reposing on', i.e. for eating, cf. Lucil. 138(M.) et pulvino fultus, Sil. XI.401 nec pudeat picto fultum iacuisse cubili, Juv. 3.82 fultusque toro meliore recumbet; the merchant will recline not on a couch but on a coil of rope: the everyday cena is placed in alien and uncomfortable surroundings.

147. transtro One of the cross-beams on which the rowers sit, cf. Virg. Aen. IV.573, V.136, Luc. III.542-3, C. Torr, Ancient Ships (1895), pp.46f. The cena will be set on a transtrum instead of a table.

147-8. Veientanumque rubellum / exhalet The expression is elliptical, meaning 'emit the smell of red Veientian'. For P.'s spelling Veientanum rather than Veientanum, cf. Housman, 'Adversaria Orthographica', CR, 5(1891), 293-6 (p.296). The diminutive epithet rubellus is probably not attested before P.; for its application to Veian wine, cf. Mart. I.103.9 et Veientani bibitur faex crassa rubelli. The wine of Veii is extremely poor: commentators cite Hor. Sat. II.3.143-4 (of the miser) qui Veientanum festis potare diebus / Campana solitus trulla vappamque profestis, Porph. ad l. pessimum vinum in Veienti nascitur, Mart. III.49.1 Veientana mihi misces, ubi Massica potas.

148. vapida laesum pice The prospect of drinking Veian wine is made still worse. pix is variously associated with wine: it is used for sealing wine-jars (e.g. Hor. Carm. III.8.10, Plin. N.H. XIV.127), though it would not then be likely to affect the wine inside; pitch is often added to wine in order to preserve it (Colum. XII.22ff., Plin. N.H. XVI.54, Jardé, D-S, V.920), an addition also supposed to enliven its taste (Plin. N.H. XIV.120, 124, Plut. Mor. 676C); but pitch may have an undesirable effect on wine, as implied in Plin. N.H. XXIII.45 saluberrimum (sc. vinum) cui nihil in musta additum est, meliusque si nec vasis pix adfuit. In P., the idea is evidently that something is wrong with the pitch that has been added to the wine or that has been used in making the wine-jar: vapida ... pice is a difficult collocation (for the epithet, see 117n.) but seems designed to convey the sense 'unwholesome pitch'.

sessilis A rare adjective, occurring for perhaps the first time at Ov. Met. XII.401 tergum sessile, where it means 'able to be sat upon'. In Silver Latin it is found only here, in Pliny the Elder and Martial, and is applied to low-growing plants (e.g. Plin. N.H. XIX.125, 140, Mart. III.47.8) and bellying or squat objects, cf. Plin. N.H. XV.16 regiis (sc. piris) quae minimo pediculo sessilia, XXXVII.22 verrucae ... non eminentes sed, ut in corpore etiam, plerumque sessiles.

obba The word is used before P. only by Laberius and Varro

(Men. 114 and frag. ap. Non. 545(M.)), and next by Tertullian. Gellius, who provides the evidence for Laberius' use of obba, classes it among obsoleta (verba) ... et maculantia ex sordidiore vulgi usu (XVI.7.4). P.'s scholiast explains obba as genus vasis ex sparto factum, cf. Non. 545(M.) vel ligneum vel ex sparto; obba is thus very different from murrea pocula, mentioned at Sen. Benef. VII.9.3 as part of luxuriae spolia.

149-50. nummi, quos ... / nutrieras It has often been noted that the phraseology resembles Hor. Ep. I.18.35 nummos alienos pascet, where the metaphor looks to be one of grazing flocks, but the mode of expression has never been explained. Of probable relevance is the Romans' regular derivation of pecunia from pecus, cf. Cic. Rep. II.16, Varro, L.L. V.92, Ov. Fast. V. 280-1, Colum. VI. praef. 4, Plin. N.H. XVIII.11, XXXIII.43, Fest. 232-3(L.).

149. hic Presumably 'at Rome', cf. Petron. 44, Juv. 2.167.

quincunce quincunx is 'five-twelfths', i.e. for every hundred asses invested, interest accumulates at the rate of five-twelfths of an as each month, which means five per cent annually; deunces (150) is eleven-twelfths of an as monthly, eleven per cent annually: see Klingmüller, R-E, VI.2195.18ff.

150. avidos sudare deunces The image of increasing money as though it were a flock of animals is discarded. sudo is

first used transitively in Virg. Ecl. 4.30, 8.54, where it is applied to trees' secretion, a reasonably straightforward extension. The sense of sudo in P., 'achieve, accomplish with difficulty', appears first in Silver verse, cf. Stat. Theb. V.189 labor sudatus, Sil. III.92, IV.433-4 multoque labore Cyclopum / sudatum thoraca. The nummi are pictured working hard to produce a high rate of growth of themselves. The Greek notion of money breeding to produce τόκοι is known in Latin, cf. Varro ap. Gell. XVI.12.7 faenus ... a fetu et quasi a fetura quadam pecuniae parientis atque increscentis, Fest. 76(L.) fenus et faeneratores ... a fetu dicta, quod crediti nummi alios pariant, ut apud Graecos eadem res τόκος dicitur, Dig. XXII 1.7 steriles nummi; and while sudo is nowhere used with sexual connotations, the idea of effort to reproduce and multiply is present in P., though in an undeveloped form. This is perhaps an instance of P.'s tendency to hint at a metaphor without making its nature precise, cf. 118n., 127-8n., 164-5n. For deunces, cf. 149n. For the transferred avidos, cf. Luc. I.181 usura vorax avidumque in tempora faenus, Stat. Sily. II.2.151-2 avidique ... / fenoris; the adjective is to be contrasted with modesto (149), cf. Phaedr. II. Prol. 14-15 attende cur negare cupidis debeas, / modestis etiam offerre quod non petierint.

151. indulge genio genius here, as often, is the spirit of enjoyment which everyone possesses, cf. Plaut. Truc. 183, Aul. 724, Pers. 263, Hor. Carm. III.17.14-15, A.P. 209-10, Ep. II.1.143-4, Sen. Ep. 95.41, Porph. on Hor. Ep. II.1.144 qui

indulgent genio suo memores sunt vitam humanam non esse diuturnam,
 Serv. on Virg. Georg. I.302 nam quotiens voluptati operam
damus, indulgere dicimur genio.

carpamus dulcia The expression seems to be a variation on Hor. Carm. I.11.8 carpe diem, and is perhaps influenced also by Hor. Ep. I.11.22-3 tu quamcumque deus tibi fortunaverit horam / grata sume manu neu dulcia differ in annum. The implications of carpo are clear from Ov. A.A. III.79-80 nostra sine auxilio fugiunt bona: carpite florem / qui nisi carptus erit turpiter ipse cadet, Porph. on Hor. Carm. I.11.8 translatio autem a pomis sumpta est, quae scilicet ideo carpimus ut fruamur. For all that, direct Horatian influence is not completely certain: the combination of carpo and gaudia at Ov. A.A. III.661 (which recurs at Stat. Theb. XI.184, Mart. VII.47.11) may have had some bearing on P.'s locution. In any context other than P.'s, carpamus dulcia might mean 'let us all (i.e. all mortals) take enjoyment while we can', which would be a cliché going back to Greek lyric poetry. Yet here, the change from singular (indulge) to plural suggests that Luxuria is representing herself as the boon-companion or perhaps mistress (165n.) of whoever indulges in luxury. This is clearly a very unusual idea. There is something similar in Xen. Mem. II.1.30, where Καρία is said herself to partake of the pleasures she embodies: ἤτις οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν ἡδέων ἐπιθυμίαν ἀναμένεις, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἐπιθυμῆσαι πάντων ἐμπίπλασαι, πρὶν μὲν πεινῆν ἐσθίουσα, πρὶν δὲ διψῆν πίνουσα, καὶ ἵνα μὲν ἡδέως φάγης, ὄψοποιοῦς μηχανωμένη, ἵνα δὲ ἡδέως πίης, οἴνους

τε πολυτελεῖς παρασκευάζη, κτλ. P.'s representation of Luxuria enjoying herself in the company of her slave seems to be an extension of the Greek picture. See also 177-9n.

151-2. nostrum est / quod vivis Conington paraphrases the words, 'nostra est tua vita, your life belongs to me and you'. For quod vivis meaning tua vita, cf. Sen. Ep. 65.18 hoc quod vivit stipendium putat, 99.31 hoc quod vivimus proximum nihilost. But is 'your life belongs to us two' a convincing sentiment? If nostrum, as commonly, means meum, the sense is then that the man's life belongs properly to Luxuria, not to Avaritia; that, in another sense, it belongs to him, goes without saying. Conington says that nostrum answers to carpamus; but the difference in number between carpamus and nostrum is by no means repugnant, since one is a verb, the other an adjective, and they stand in separate expressions.

152. cinis et manes et fabula fies For the thought, cf. Hor. Carm. IV.7.15-17 nos ubi decidimus / quo pater Aeneas, quo Tullus dives et Ancus, / pulvis et umbra sumus. P.'s expression is verbally reminiscent of Hor. Carm. I.4.16 fabulaeque Manes and Ep. I.13.9 cognomen veritas in risum et fabula fias; in the last passage, fabula means 'a subject of gossip', in P. it denotes something existing only on men's lips, a rare usage, cf. Luc. VII.391-2 tunc omne Latinum / fabula nomen erit, Claud. Cons. Stil. III.70-1 haec fabula certe / cuncta forent.

153. vive memor leti Reminiscent of Hor. Sat. II.6.97
vive memor quam sis aevi brevis and Ep. II.1.44 genium memorem
brevis aevi.

leti A poetic word. It is extremely common in Virgil, Ovid, Seneca's tragedies and Silver epic, and is also freely used in Horace's Odes; it occurs once in Horace's hexameters, at Sat. II.6.95, part of a mock-grandiose passage, twice in Martial (XI.91.5) and once in Juvenal; Livy has letum a number of times, but Cicero's two instances are both found in quotations (Div. I.56, Att. X.10.5). See also Marouzeau, Traité, p.193.

fugit hora A proverbial saying, cf. Otto, Sprichwörter, pp. 112f. Voluptas tries it unsuccessfully on Scipio at Sil. XV.64.

hoc quod loquor inde est The idea may reasonably be considered a cliché, cf. Hor. Carm. I.11.7-8 dum loquimur, fugerit invida / aetas (with Nisbet-Hubbard's note), Ov. Am. I.11.15 dum loquor, hora fugit. But P.'s words are compressed and elliptical: 'the hour flies; what I say is from there'. inde can hardly refer to hora, as Conington takes it: hora does not mean 'time allotted to you' but 'time' generally, which is not itself diminished; inde refers to what is not in the text, namely something like spatium temporis tibi datum. Further, hoc quod loquor does not mean simply 'what I say' but, as the scholiast notes, implies 'the time I take to say this'.

154. en quid agis? For en, see 134n. The present indicative of ago frequently carries the force of a deliberative subjunctive, cf. e.g. Plaut. Bacch. 1196, Men. 844, Pseud. 1160, Ter. Phorm. 1007, Eun. 811, Ad. 538, Virg. Aen. X.675, XII. 637; for this use of ago and other verbs, cf. Hofmann-Szantyr, p.308.

duplici ... hamo The image of fish and baited hooks is established in Greek (Taillardat, Images d'Aristophane, p.223, n.6) and common in Latin (Otto, Sprichwörter, p.158, s.v. hamus (1)); cf. also Cic. Sen. 44 (after Plato, Tim. 69D) divine enim Plato escam malorum appellat voluptatem quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces. In P., the victim is tempted by different baits and falls to both.

in diversum scinderis The adverbial phrase occurs first in Livy and is found most frequently in Silver prose (TLL, V.1. 1585.50ff.). scinderis is highly expressive, the image of physical torment reflecting the slave's intellectual dilemma.

155. sequeris The present tense has future force, cf. Hofmann-Szantyr, pp.307f.

155-6. The exact sense of these lines is not easily grasped. Conington translates, 'You must needs obey your masters by turns and shirk them by turns, by a division of duty'; he takes ancipiti obsequio as referring to both subeas and oberres, and argues that alternus (155) stands for alternos, while

alternus (156) refers to dominos in sense; but his view of the lines, acceptable up to this point, is rendered wholly invalid by an erroneous interpretation of oberres, which cannot mean 'shirk, desert'. The verb is first in Hor. A.P. 356, applied to a citharoedus playing a wrong note; it occurs next in Silver Latin, where its fundamental meanings are 'roam, wander about, wander in front of', cf. P. 6.32, Sen. Thy. 966, Plin. N.H. VIII.9, XXX.127, Tac. Ann. I.65.1. oberres here looks to mean something like 'wander (uncertainly) in the face of (ob-) two masters'. Conington takes ancipiti obsequio ἀπὸ κοινού with subeas and oberres; but ancipiti obsequio suggests two definite courses, and 'wander in front of' is hardly a course and has nothing to do with duty or allegiance. Why should Conington understand ancipiti obsequio and oberres as he does? A literal translation runs thus: 'It is necessary that by turns you submit to your masters with twofold allegiance and by turns you wander'; this is not the same as 'you must serve one master at one time, the other at another'; rather, three requirements are given: serve one master, serve the other, roam about. Conington may have been troubled by the inescapable suggestion here that the moral slave is free of both masters for some length of time. Yet is this so alien to the trend of thought expressed in the foregoing lines? 154-5, if pressed hard, involve a contradiction: in 154, the slave has no free will, being torn asunder by both masters; in 155, however, it is as if he has no hooks in him at all but may exercise a free choice as to which passion to indulge. The idea of the slave

being free in 156, of being able to choose, is therefore not inconsistent with what has preceded. Finally, under this interpretation, alternus (155) does not mean alternos nor does alternus (156) refer to dominos: both instances of alternus refer to the man himself and mark his alternating slavery and indecision.

155. oportet Found only here in P., oportet is frequent in comedy, occasional in the other lower types of verse, and very rare in the higher poetic genres (Axelson, Unp. Wörter, pp. 13f.).

157-60. This is a transitional passage, leading on to servitium amoris. Jahn and Conington begin a new paragraph at 161, which suggests that they are taking 157-60 to belong to what has preceded. But the motif of two simultaneous and conflicting passions ends at 156, and the idea of temporary freedom contained in 157-60 looks to anticipate Charestratus' inability to escape love's domination for very long.

157. semel Emphatic, cf. vere (113).

157-8. instantique negaris / parere imperio For nego with a present infinitive and no accusative meaning 'refuse', cf. e.g. Ov. Am. II.15.19, Met. XIV.250. imperium is regularly used of a master's order to his slave (e.g. Plaut. Amph. 262, Sall. Iug. 31.11, Tib. II.3.79), and also of inner or moral demands, cf. e.g. Sen. Q.N. VII.25.2 animi imperio impellimur aut revocamur, Ep. 106.10 aut malitiae aut virtutis gerimus imperio.

158. 'rupi iam vincula' Chains often represent spiritual enslavement: commentators cite Hor. Sat. II.7.70-1 quae belua ruptis, / cum semel effugit, reddit se prava catenis?, Sen. Vit. Beat. 16.3 hic qui ad superiora progressus est et se altius extulit laxam catenam trahit nondum liber, iam tamen pro libero; cf. also Cic. Fin. III.75 (sapiens) nec dominationi cuiusquam parens nec oboediens cupiditati, recte invictus, cuius etiamsi corpus constringatur, animo tamen vincula inici nulla possint. More important, perhaps, the idea is freely applied in elegy to the lover, cf. e.g. Tib. I.1.55 me retinent vinctum formosae vincla puellae, II.4.3-4 servitium sed triste datur teneorque catenis, / et numquam misero vincla remittit Amor, Prop. III. 15.9-10, Ov. Am. I.2.30, 6.47, III.11.3 scilicet adserui iam me fugique catenas.

159-60. The man who frees himself momentarily from a dominating passion is like a dog that runs away but is easily recaptured by the chain that hangs from its neck. The picture bears some similarity to Hor. Sat. II.7.70-1 (quoted on 158). canis is probably not selected for any particular reason: comparisons with animals generally are used elsewhere for the moral slave, cf. Hor. Sat. II.7.93-4, P. 5.118, 170-1. .

161-74. The dialogue is clearly influenced both by the opening scene of Terence's Eunuchus (which, it may be assumed, is an adaptation of Menander) and by Horace's treatment of love as insania at Sat. II.3.259-71, a passage itself closely modelled on Terence. For instances of the Stoic attitude to love's enslavement, cf. Cic. Parad. 5.36 an ille mihi liber cui mulier

imperat, cui leges imponit, praescribit iubet vetat quod videtur, qui nihil imperanti negare potest, nihil recusare audet? poscit, dandum est; vocat, veniendum; eicit, abeundum; minatur, extimescendum, Hor. Sat. II.7.89-91 quinque talenta / poscit te mulier, vexat foribusque repulsum / perfundit gelida, rursus vocat, Epict. IV.1.15-23. The best-known elaboration of servitium amoris, however, is in Latin elegy, where slavery to a mistress is a degradation to be gloried in (Copley, TAPA, 78(1947), 285-300).

161. Dave Davus takes over the role of Terence's Parmeno: Davus is a slave's name in Plaut. Amph. 365, 614, and Δᾰος is particularly common as such in Greek comedy (K. Schmidt, 'Griechische Personennamen bei Plautus', Hermes, 37(1902), 173-211(p.185)); Davus is also Horace's Stoic slave in Sat. II.7. Similarly, Chaerestratus (162) performs the part played by Phaedria in Terence: the name Chaerestratus appears at Plaut. Asin. 865 and in comic fragments, and according to P.'s scholiast was used in Menander's Εὐνοῦχος (Schmidt, p.182). Chrysis (165), Thais in Terence, is a name frequently used in Greek and Roman comedy of meretrices (Schmidt, p.183). If indeed P. has based this passage on Terence, the names used by the latter have, for one reason or another, been changed. The alternative possibility is that P. has gone back to Menander for the characters' names (and perhaps for more than just the names), thus adapting elements from that writer as well as from Terence and Horace.

cito, hoc credas iubeo P. opens the scene at a critical moment:

Chaerestratus has decided to rid himself of his mistress. This opening differs from the treatments in Terence and Horace where the lover, to begin with, is at a loss what to do. P. reverses the apparently traditional sequence in order to accommodate the theme of temporary freedom.

161-2. finire dolores / praeteritos meditor An imitation of Hor. Sat. II.3.263 an potius mediter finire dolores?. As in Horace, dolores indicates the pains of love representing love itself, cf. Hor. Sat. I.2.109, Prop. I.10.13, II.15.35. praeteritos is possibly attributive: the context may facilitate the meaning 'such as I formerly endured'; but logic strongly favours praeteritos as predicative, i.e. 'I am considering putting an end to my pains, so that they are in the past'.

162-3. For a similar identifying parenthesis, cf. 4.1-2.

crudum Chaerestratus unguem / adrodens For the proper name, see 161n. crudum may be proleptic, like vivus in Hor. Sat. I.10.71 vivos et roderet ungues; it means 'raw, bleeding', a rare usage first in Ovid and next in Silver Latin (TLL, IV. 1236.16ff.); but crudum could just as well be attributive and indeed has more force if understood as such: Chaerestratus has been biting his nails before (driven to do so by the pangs of love) and now bites them again; in fact he has bitten them so hard and frequently that now he bites already bleeding nails, their quick long since exposed. Nail-biting is a sign of various things: it may accompany intense mental concentration,

as in Hor. Sat. I.10.71, P. 1.106; it may be an expression of anger, cf. Hor. Epod. 5.47-8, ps.-Acro, ad l. habitum et motus Canidiae expressit furentis. Petronius ut monstraret furentem, 'pollice', ait, 'usque ad periculum roso' (frag. 3); it can be a reflection of jealousy, cf. Mart. IV.27.5 ecce iterum nigros conrodit lividus unguis; it appears to denote mingled sorrow and indignation at Prop. II.4.3, and remorse at Prop. III.25.4. P.'s context is parallel to none of these; but nail-biting seems generally to indicate any unusually heightened intellectual activity or emotional state.

163-4. siccis ... / cognatis The epithet carries the somewhat extended meaning 'sober' and the further extended meaning 'responsible', and contrasts with ebrius (166). The datives are to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with dedecus and obstem.

163. dedecus obstem While roughly equivalent to sum or fio in sense, obsto here is a more vivid verb than these and contains the additional idea 'stand opposed to' (29n.).

164-5. rem patriam ... / limen ad obscenum frangam The phraseology resembles Hor. Sat. II.3.18-20 postquam omnis res mea Ianum / ad medium fracta est, aliena negotia curo, / excussus propriis, where the metaphor is of a shipwreck; the image is apparently the same in P., though less elaborate (150n.). The metaphor is particularly common in Cicero, cf. e.g. Sull. 41, Rosc. Am. 147, Sest. 18 ne in Scyllaeo illo aeris alieni tamquam in fretu ad columnam adhaeresceret, in tribunatus portum

perfugerat, Fam. I.9.5 propter rei familiaris naufragia, Phil. 12.19 ex naufragio luculenti patrimonii ad haec Antoniana saxa proiectus est.

164. rem patriam cf. Hor. Sat. I.2.61-2 bonam deperdere famam, / rem patris oblimare. In comedy, meretrices are a considerable expense, cf. G.E. Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy: A study in popular entertainment (Princeton, 1952), p.275.

rumore sinistro The idea occurs in Horace, cf. Sat. I.2.61, 133 ne nummi pereant aut puga aut denique fama, II.7.65-7 cum te formidet mulier neque credat amanti, / ibis sub furcam prudens, dominoque furenti / committes rem omnem et vitam et cum corpore famam. In love elegy, on the other hand, it is almost invariably the woman's reputation that is said to suffer, cf. e.g. Prop. I.16.11, II.32.21-6, Ov. Am. II.2.50, III.14.36.

165. limen ad obscenum The epithet, transferred from the girl, suggests a lewd and illegitimate eroticism, cf. Prop. I.16.10 obscenis ... carminibus (with Enk's note), II.6.27, III.11.31. The mention of limen leads on to the lover's serenade.

Chrysidis For the name, see 161n. In contrast to the abstract Avaritia and Luxuria, the domina of the lover is a woman. The influence of elegy is apparent here: domina in the sense of mistress is first in Catull. 68.68, 156, and then occurs very frequently in the elegists, cf. Tib. I.1.46, 5.40, II.3.5, 79, 4.1, 19, 25, 6.41, 47, Prop. I.1.21, 7.26, 16.

17, II.24.16, Ov. Am. I.4.60, II.15.11, 17.15, etc.; its use belongs to the motif of servitium amoris. It is of some interest that all the expressly mentioned domini in 132-88 are not domini at all but dominae: Avaritia, Luxuria, Chrysis and Ambitio; none of the domini which seem to be promised at 130 materialises; and the man subject to avarice, luxury or ambition is as much a slave to a female as is the lover.

165-6. udas / ... ante fores Commentators give numerous explanations of udas. Some, following the scholiast, refer to Lucr. IV. 1177-9 at lacrimans exclusus amator limina saepe / floribus et sertis operit postisque superbos / unguis amaricino. Others think the door is wet with the lover's tears, cf. Prop. I.16.3-4 limina ... / captorum lacrimis umida supplicibus, Ov. Am. I.6.17-18 adspice ... / uda sit ut lacrimis ianua facta meis, Mart. X.13.8 et madet, heu, lacrimis ianua surda tuis. Another interpretation is that the door is wet with rain, which would add to the lover's discomfiture, cf. Asclep., Anth.Pal. V.189.1-2 νύξ μακρὴ καὶ χεῖμα, μέσον δ' ἐπὶ Πλειάδα δύνει / κάγω πὰρ προθύροις νέσσομαι ὕμενος, Tib. I.2.29-30, Hor. Carm. III.10.19-20, Ov. Am. I.9.16, A.A. II.237. Yet another possibility is that water has been poured on the door by the exclusus, cf. Plaut. Curc. 158-60 placide egredere et sonitum prohibe forium et crepitum cardinum / ne quod hic agimus erus percipiat fieri, mea Planesium. / mane, suffundam aquolam. G.C. Fiske, CPh, 11(1916), 336-8, attempts to relate P.'s phrase to the satiric tradition: he refers to Lucil. 841-2(M.) *** has ex fenestris in caput / deiciunt qui prope

ad ostium aspiraverint and 845(M.) Gnato, quid actum est?
depilati omnes sumus, and follows Marx who, comparing Hor.
Sat. II.7.90-1 (quoted on 161-74n.), concludes that water
has been thrown down onto those trying to enter the girl's
house; however, Marx's interpretation of depilati, which he
claims refers to the use of hot water for plucking fowls, is
quite unacceptable in such a fragmentary context, and Lucilius
cannot be said to support Fiske's view; further, if, in P.,
water has been thrown down onto the lover, why should the
doors be wet? It would have to be assumed that udas is
transferred from the exclusus. All these interpretations of
udas are at least possible, but none is wholly compelling.
What, then, is the force of the epithet? The sense of the
lines is complete without it, and it seems to have no point
beyond a momentary touch of vividness that has no real place
in the broader context; for other adjectives used in this
way by P., see 189n.

166. ebrius The exclusus is often flown with wine, cf. e.g.
Asclep., Anth.Pal. V.167.1-2 ὑετὸς ἦν καὶ νύξ καὶ τὸ τρίτον
ἄλγος ἔρωτι, / οἶνος, Hor. Sat. I.4.51, Prop. I.16.5, Ov.
Am. I.6.37-8, Fast. V.339. The origins of this drunkenness
lie in the Greek practice of going out ἐπὶ κῶμον, on a revel,
which was the sequel to a symposium; the drunken song before
a girl's house was part of the revel (Lamer, R-E, XI.1296.15ff.,
Headlam on Herod. 2.34-7).

extincta cum face For the use of torches by the reveller or

exclusus, cf. Aristoph. Eccl. 692, Meleag., Anth.Pal. XII.83. 3-4, Hor. Sat. I.4.52, Prop. I.16.7-8 et mihi non desunt turpes pendere corollae, / semper et exclusi signa iacere faces. extincta is meant to heighten the absurdity of the lover's conduct; the torch may be considered to have been put out by rain, the lover's tears, or water thrown down by Chrysis, depending on which, if any, of the interpretations of udas (165) yet advanced is favoured; it seems more likely, however, that the torch is out because of the lover's long wait for admission, cf. the abandoned faces in Prop. I.16.8.

canto A vox propria, cf. Ov. Am. III.8.4 ad rigidas canto carmen inane fores?, Fast. V.339-40 ebrius ad durum formosae limen amicae / cantat. Instances of παρακλαυσίθυρα are found in Aristoph. Eccl. 960-76, Theocr. 3.6-54, Plaut. Cure. 145-55, Hor. Carm. III.10, Tib. I.2,5, Prop. I.16, Ov. Am. I.6, Met. XIV.698-758; of these, the later Roman examples lack all dramatic conviction.

167. Davus, like Parmeno and the slave in Horace's adaptation of the opening of the Eunuchus, is the voice of reason; and, like Davus in Hor. Sat. II.7, he recognizes moral servitude.

euge A vulgar borrowing of εὖγε, the exclamation is frequently used in comedy, especially Plautus, occurs next in P. (cf. 1.49, 75, 111) and is found again in Silver Latin only at Mart. II.27.3 (Hofmann, Lat.Umg., p.27).

puer Again at 169. Davus is emphasising his master's inexperience and boyish outlook on love.

sapias Commentators refer to Hor. Carm. I.11.6-7 sapias, vina liques et spatio brevi / spem longam reseces, where the meaning of sapias is uncertain: it is generally taken as an imperative, but Porphyrio says 'sapias' pro 'si sapias' veterum consuetudine dictum. P. Veyne, RPh, 41(1967), 105-8, follows Porphyrio, comparing P. and, more important, Ov. Am. I.4.29 quod tibi miscuerit, sapias, bibat ipse iubeto where sapias looks to mean si sapias. si sapias is often followed by an imperative (Veyne, p.106, n.2), and imperatives are present in Ovid and P. (percute). The difficulty with following Veyne in regard to Horace is that no parallel exists of sapias (meaning si sapias) combined with a subjunctive, and it is natural to take sapias and liques on the same grammatical level. But it is more than possible that sapias in P. means si sapias.

dis depellentibus A unique expression. Aurruncus seems to be the important god in the sphere of averting evil, cf. Varro, L.L. VII.102 ab avertendo aurruncare, ut deus qui in eis rebus praeest Aurruncus. itaque ab eo precari solent ut pericula avertat, Gell. V.12.14. depellentes may have been suggested by Iuppiter depulsor (TLL, V.1.619.51ff.). But dis depellentibus looks more certainly to be a rather absurd translation of θεός ἀποτροπᾶτος (for which cf. e.g. Xen. Hell. III.3.4, Plato, Laws, IX.854B, Paus. II.11.1), perhaps suggesting, like puer, that Davus does not for a moment take his master's assertions seriously.

168. percute percutio meaning 'kill as a sacrifice' is unusual, though paralleled at Ov. Fast. I.347 aperit percussi viscera tauri.

'sed censen plorabit, Dave, relicta?' Chaerestratus is beginning to find his painful resolution too much to bear; his period of freedom from love's domination has not lasted long.

censen For the form, cf. Hofmann, Lat.Umg., pp.45f.

censen plorabit Colloquial styles generally prefer oratio recta to oratio obliqua, and as a result, verbs of thought or expression (aiō, censeo, credo, opinor, puto, scio, etc.) are often placed in parataxis with the main idea of a sentence; these verbs may occur inside the sentence (e.g. Cic. Att. I.20.5 cupit, credo, triumphare), at the end (e.g. Ter. Heaut. 588 recte dicit censeo), and, as here in P., at the beginning, cf. e.g. Plaut. Epid. 535 credo ego illi hospitio usus venit, Pers. 491 ain apud mest?, Rud. 1269 censen hodie despondebit eam mihi?. For this type of parataxis, cf. Hofmann, Lat.Umg., pp.105ff.; and for other instances of censeo so used, cf. TLL, III.792.8ff.

plorabit The verb is highly expressive, cf. Sen. Ep. 63.1 lacrimandum est, non plorandum. It is very rare in artistic prose, and found in tragedy and epic only once each in Ennius and Lucretius and a few times in Statius; it is freely used by the elegists (who, nevertheless, much prefer fleo), Horace,

Petronius, Martial and Juvenal: see Axelson, Unp.Wörter, pp.28f., Tränkle, Sprachkunst, pp.135f. The prospect of his mistress' tears impedes Chaerestratus' firm resolve, cf. Ter. Eun. 67-9 haec verba ea una mehercle falsa lacrimula / quam oculos terendo misere vix vi expresserit, / restinguet; for the power of a woman's tears, cf. also Tib. I.9.37-8, Ov. Am. II.2.59-60, R.A. 689-90.

relicta i.e. by her lover; for this sense of relinquo, cf. Prop. I.6.8, II.24.46, Ov. Am. II.18.22, A.A. III.36.

169. nugaris nugor is common in Plautus, occurs next in poetry in Horace (Sat. II.1.73, Ep. I.18.60, II.1.93), and is found in Silver verse only in P. (cf. 1.56,70); it is used by Cicero only at Div. II.30 and Att. V.21.14, and is avoided by Caesar, Livy, Tacitus and Suetonius. The verb here has the same force as the interjections nugas! (e.g. Plaut. Rud. 613, Most. 1088, Pers. 718) and nugae! (P. 1.5).

solea ... obiurgabere rubra Commentators note the reference to the tale of Heracles and Omphale, in which the hero becomes the slave of the Lydian queen, cf. Soph. Trach. 252-3 κείνος δὲ πραθείς Ὀμφάλη τῆ βαρβάρῳ / ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξέπλησεν, Apoll. Bibl. II.6.3 Ἡρακλῆς δὲ Ὀμφάλη δουλεύων, Diod.Sic. IV.31.6, Hyg. Fab. 32 Hercules ... Omphalae reginae in servitutum datus est. Originally, Heracles is punished for murdering Iphitus, and the erotic element of the story is only introduced later, probably by the Alexandrians (Copley, TAPA, 78(1947),

285ff.); Heracles is then Omphale's willing slave because of his love for her, cf. Prop. III.11.17-20, Ov. A.A. II.221, Sen. H.O. 372. Omphale's beating of Heracles with a slipper must also be a later (comic) accretion, perhaps mentioned by Menander, cf. Ter. Eun. 1027-8 qui minus quam Hercules servivit Omphalae? exemplum placet. / utinam tibi conmitigari videam sandalo caput!; cf. also Lucian, Dial.Deor. 13.2 καιόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς Ὀμφάλης χρυσοῦ σανδάλω.

obiurgabere The verb is prosaic, being greatly favoured by Cicero and Silver Latin prose, and occurring in verse outside archaic Latin only at Catull.74.1, three times in Phaedrus, and here. Its usual sense is that of iurgo, 'upbraid with words', but P.'s instance reflects a Silver Latin extension, cf. Phaedr. App. 15.10 obiurgari iussit ferulis garrulum, Sen. de Ira, III.12.6 servulum istum verberibus obiurga, Petron. 34 colaphisque obiurgari puerum ... iussit, TLL, IX.2.73.24ff.

rubra The adjective is emphatic by position, but it is difficult to see why it is in the text at all. It could be argued that rubra supplies just enough extra to make the allusion to Heracles and Omphale viable: anyone might beat the man with a plain slipper, but a red one suggests the pampered woman to whom he is enslaved. This, however, is not a fully convincing view, since a beating with a slipper (plain as well as coloured) irresistibly suggests, in the context of a love affair, Heracles and Omphale. rubra, in spite of its emphatic position, adds nothing to the sense of the line and is thrown in by P. purely for a touch of colour

(189n.).

170. The metaphor is of an animal caught in a net and trying to escape. trepidare is 'become frenzied, agitated'; Casaubon compares the transferred use of the word at Prop. II.4.5-6 sic primo iuvenes trepidant in amore feroces, / dehinc domiti post haec aequa et iniqua ferunt. The beast trapped in the net tries to get out by biting through the meshes: the image of the snares of love is widespread in Latin elegy, where it is used both of men trapping women (e.g. Ov. A.A. I.263, 270, 392, II.2) and of women men, cf. e.g. Tib. I.6.5, Ov. Am. I.8.69-70, A.A. III.428, 554 novus viso casse resistet amans. Conington sees in artos rodere casses a reference to the Aesopean fable of the Lion and the Mouse (206, ed. Chambry); he may be right, in which case P. has given the role of the Mouse to the ensnared beast.

171. nunc ferus et violens Some editors set a full stop at the end of 170, others a comma. It seems that at si vocet must be preceded by an antithesis, which is not forthcoming if a comma is placed after 170 and nunc ... violens made part of the sentence preceding it. nunc ... violens must be an independent sentence, making a contrast with what follows. ferus and violens look back to the metaphor of the previous line: Chaerestratus is supposedly untamed and wild; for ferus in the sense of 'unbroken by love', cf. Tib. I.5.5 (of the recalcitrant love-slave) ure ferum et torque, Prop. I.5.12 illa feros animis alligat una viros; cf. also Propertius' use of ferox at II.4.5 (quoted on 170). The form violens

as opposed to violentus is first in Horace and next here.

172-3. The lines are a conflation of Ter. Eun. 46-7 quid igitur faciam? non eam ne nunc quidem / quom accersor ultro? and Hor. Sat. II.3.262-3 nec nunc, cum me vocet ultro, / accedam?. Davus scornfully quotes the lover's traditional vacillation.

172. nec nunc i.e. ne nunc quidem, cf. 174. nec or neque for ne ... quidem is found occasionally in archaic Latin, cf. Ennius, Scaen. 88(V.²), Plaut. Most. 979; Cicero is first to use it with any kind of frequency, and it is then freely admitted by the Augustans and Silver Latin authors: see Hofmann-Szantyr, pp. 449f.

172-3. cum arcessat et ultro / supplicet P. alters slightly the position ultro holds in Terence and Horace; supplicet may have been suggested by obsecret at Ter. Eun. 49 and Hor. Sat. II.3.264

174. exieras Pluperfect used for perfect, cf. Hofmann-Szantyr, pp.320f.

174-5. A sudden reference to the argument developed in 73-131, that true freedom is not obtained through civil ceremony.

174. hic hic quod quaerimus, hic est Commentators compare Hor. Ep. I.11.29 quod petis hic est, 17.39 hic est aut nusquam quod quaerimus. hic in P. refers to the attitude adopted by the legal slave towards moral freedom, specifically freedom

from love's domination. hic twice repeated is a reflection of popular speech, carrying much emphasis (Hofmann, Lat.Umg., p.59).

175. festuca The word's basic meaning is 'straw, stalk', but already in archaic Latin it has particular legal associations, cf. Plaut. Mil. 961 ingenuan an festuca facta e serva liberast?. P.'s scholiast glosses festuca as virga qua a lictore percutitur; and in later legal writings, it is certainly synonymous with vindicta, cf. Gaius, Inst. IV.16 qui vindicabat, festucam tenebat ... 'sicut dixi, ecce tibi vindictam imposui', et simul homini festucam imponebat. Conington, however, interprets P.'s festuca as 'straw', his prime reason from antiquity being Plut. Mor. 550B 'Ρωμαῖοι δέ, οὓς ἄν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρῶνται, κάρφος αὐτῶν λεπτὸν ἐπιβάλλουσι τοῖς σώμασιν. This view is convincingly opposed by R.G. Nisbet, 'The Festuca and the Alapa of Manumission', JRS, 8(1918), 1-14(pp.1-2): he notes that καρπιστής and καρπιστία or καρπισμός are used for assertor libertatis and assertio respectively in the early Empire, and argues that it is reasonable to assume that these Greek terms are derived from the principal and best-known part of manumissio, the use of the vindicta securing vindicatio; in which case, Plutarch either used κάρφος to mean festuca in the sense of vindicta or confused the Greek terms and P.'s expression as a result of ignorance of the ceremony of manumissio vindicta. festuca in P. is a synonym of vindicta.

lictor quam iactat ineptus For the role of the praetor's lictores in the manumission ceremony, cf. Kübler, R-E, XIII.

514.18ff. iactat is 'wave', cf. Liv. XLV.25.1 ramosque oleae iactantes; the verb in P. has overtones of aimlessness and inanity. ineptus is probably unpoetic, being common to the lower poetic genres, Cicero and Silver prose, but occurring elsewhere only a few times in elegy and once in Ovid's Metamorphoses.

176. ius habet ille sui ille marks the transition to the slave of Ambitio. P.'s expression seems to be a variation of the formal sui iuris esse, for which cf. e.g. Sen. Brev.Vit. 5.3 sapiens ... numquam semiliber erit, integrae semper libertatis et solidae, solutus et sui iuris et altior ceteris, Gaius, Inst. I.48 quaedam personae sui iuris sunt, quaedam alieno iuri subiectae sunt: rursus earum quae alieno iuri subiectae sunt, aliae in potestate parentum, aliae in potestate dominorum sunt.

palpo The punctuation adopted in the text was first suggested by Buecheler, RhM, 42(1887), 472-3: he removes the long-established comma after palpo nominative because this form is not found elsewhere in Latin; with a comma after sui, palpo becomes the ablative of palpus or palpum, 'stroking, coaxing, flattery', cf. Plaut. Amph. 526 timidam palpo percutit, Merc. 153 palpo percutis, Pseud. 945 mi optrudere non potes palpum; the word is derived from the verb palpo or palpor, the basic sense of which is apparently 'stroke', cf. Hor. Sat. II.1.18. Buecheler is probably right, but an element of uncertainty must remain since the meaning afforded by his punctuation is a little difficult: why should Ambitio

flatter her slave? Perhaps the idea is that while Avaritia bullies her slave into action and Luxuria seduces hers, Ambitio flatters her slave into believing himself worthy of high political office; but this is not obvious, and the sense of 176-7 would be complete without palpo.

hiantem The word has various implications here: it contains the idea of greed or desire, cf. Hor. Sat. I.1.70-1 congestis undique saccis / indormis inhians, II.5.56 corvum deludet hiantem, Sen. Benef. VII.26.3 adspice, quemadmodum immensae hominum cupiditates hient semper et poscant; it is partly to be understood from Virg. Georg. II.508-10 (of the political aspirant) hunc plausus hiantem / per cuneos geminatus enim plebisque patrumque / corripuit; it is also indicative of gullibility, of the man being taken in by political honours, which P. considers worthless, cf. Hor. Sat. I.2.88 emptorem inducat hiantem.

177. cretata Ambitio Characterised at Cic. Parad. 5.40 quid? iam illa cupiditas quae videtur esse liberalior, honoris imperii provinciarum, quam dura est domina, quam imperiosa, quam vehemens!. cretata is a reference to the customary wearing of a white toga by political aspirants, cf. Isid. XIX.24.6 toga candida eademque cretata, in qua candidati, id est magistratum petentes, ambiebant, addita creta, quo candidior insigniorque esset. The epithet is rare and colloquial, being attested first in Lucil. 1145(M.) and then Cic. Att. II.3.1, and occurring in Augustan poetry only at Prop. IV.5.52; it

is found in Silver Latin only here, in the Elder Pliny, Martial and Juvenal (Tränkle, Sprachkunst, p.129). Ambitio here conveys the notions of 'candidature, standing for office' (e.g. Cic. Planc. 45, Liv. VII.39.12), 'canvassing' (e.g. Cic. Mil. 42, Phil. 11.19), and the untrammelled English word 'ambition', i.e. desire for advancement, as in Cic. Off. I.108, Hor. Sat. I.4.26; see also next note.

177-9. How do these lines as they stand in nearly all texts follow on from the question in 176-7? Conington says, 'The sense of the passage appears to be, "Is the political aspirant free? If so, take all the necessary steps to gratify your ambition" - these being described in such a manner as to show that they are really the badges of servitude'. This interpretation is both feeble and difficult. The answer to the question at 176-7, if an answer is needed at all, is not 'if so' but an unhesitating 'no', and 177-9 in Conington's edition is not particularly suggestive of moral slavery; further, nostra (178) must somehow or other be made to mean tua: Conington says P. identifies himself with the politician, but this sudden and momentary identification on P.'s part with a slave jars and serves no purpose. These problems vanish when the punctuation of S.G. Owen's text (Oxford, 1903) is followed and 177-9 (vigila ... senes) placed in the mouth of Ambitio. nostra no longer involves distortion of the Latin language, for Ambitio, like Luxuria (151n.), identifies herself with her minion. The trend of thought now runs as follows: 'Is the man free who is dominated by Ambitio?

(Obviously not, because she drives him on towards ever higher honours.) "Scatter gifts to the people", etc.; the politician has already been elected, probably as aedile (177-8n.), but he is still led by Ambitio and, as often, is concerned to hold splendid games and win popularity while in office in order to further his candidature for offices higher up the cursus honorum.

177. vigila The word must be taken closely with what follows it and therefore is probably not used literally ('wake up', 'be up early') but loosely, perhaps in the sense of 'be active', cf. Hor. Sat. II.3.152.

177-8. cicer ingere large / rixanti populo i.e. to secure ultimate advancement, cf. Hor. Sat. II.3.182-3 in cicere atque faba bona tu perdasque lupinis, / latus ut in Circo spatiere et aeneus ut stes. During the Floralia, gifts of food were distributed among the populace by magistrates, cf. Porph. on Hor. Sat. II.3.182 antiqui aediles huiusmodi res populo Floralibus spargebant, Schol. on P. 5.177. cicer is the poor man's food: commentators refer to Hor. Sat. I.6.115, A.P. 249, Mart. I.41.6, 103.10, V.78,21.

178. rixanti populo rixor is prosaic, occurring in poetry before P. once each in Lucretius and Horace (Ep. I.18.15) and elsewhere in Silver verse once in Juvenal. It is stronger than 'squabble' (Conington), denoting actions rather than words, though not as strong as pugno, cf. Liv. II.18.2 rixa

ac prope proelium fuit, Tac. Dial. 26.4 non pugnat sed rixatur, Juv. 15.51-2 iurgia prima sonare / incipiunt; ... haec tuba rixae. Fights for the free gifts must have been common.

nostra ... Floralia 'our games', i.e. those of Ambitio and her slave (177-9n.). The ludi Florales took place from 28th April to 3rd May, and were held by the aediles in the Republic and the praetors in the Empire (Wissowa, R-E, VI.2749.64ff.).

179. aprici meminisse senes For the rare use of apricus in the sense of apricans, cf. e.g. Hor. Carm. I.26.7 apricos necte flores, Virg. Aen. V.128 apricis statio gratissima mergis. For the picture of old men sunning themselves, cf. Cic. Sen. 57, Juv. 11.203. The essential idea is that these Floralia will be remembered for years to come and thus aid the politician's ambitious designs, but P. deliberately supplies the words of Ambitio with a strong touch of bathos.

179-88. P. next treats man's slavery to the unreasoning fear aroused by superstitious beliefs. The train of thought from 176-9 to 179ff. is not immediately discernible. Jahn says, 'is qui tam egregius et liber sibi videtur, turpissima superstitione laborat'. But the politician does not see himself as 'egregius et liber': he is slave to Ambitio. Jahn appears to take quid pulchrius? (179) on a serious level, not, as P. clearly intends it, ironically, and at as being strongly adversative. Slavery to superstition would indeed denigrate the politician, but the latter has already been reduced to worthlessness in 176-9: hence the sarcastic quid

pulchrius? at here is less adversative than continuative, cf. 3.105, 4.33, and P., in beginning his treatment of a new kind of moral slavery, superstition, is aiming at variety, at an introduction that differs from ius habet ille sui? (176); the result is an abrupt but by no means incomprehensible transition.

179-84. P.'s first subject, which is dealt with at greatest length, is Judaism. That the Jews and their religion aroused much interest among the ancients is shown by the innumerable references to them, collected by T. Reinach, Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme (Paris, 1895). P. does not summon any serious arguments against Judaism but seeks only to ridicule it and its believers: he places in impoverished surroundings the elaborate rituals, which are themselves made to appear laughable by exaggeration and odd phraseology. While the Jews may be P.'s main target, they are probably not the only one, for their religious customs had been widely adopted, cf. Seneca ap. Augustin. Civ.Dei, 6.11 cum interim usque eo sceleratissimae gentis consuetudo convaluit, ut per omnes iam terras recepta sit, victi victoribus leges dederunt ... illi tamen causas ritus sui noverunt; maior pars populi facit quod cur faciat ignorat, Josephus, Apion. II.39.282.

180. Herodis ... dies Jahn and Conington think the expression means 'Herod's birthday'; dies very occasionally means dies natalis (TLL, V.1.1031.73f.), but such an interpretation here is implausible. dies in P. is plural (a fact apparently unnoticed by Jahn and Conington) and Herod, not unusually, had

only one birthday. Further, Herod's birthday was not included in the Jewish festal calendar: admittedly, it cannot be assumed that P. is well-acquainted with Judaism, but throughout this passage he is quite clearly talking of the Sabbath. Herodis ... dies is a periphrasis: Herod's name is used to mean Iudaeorum, cf. Hor. Ep. II.2.184 Herodis palmetis pinguibus, where the palm-groves of Judaea are meant; dies is plural either because the Sabbath effectively extends over two days or because, recurring weekly, the Sabbath is seen as a continuing series of festal days.

181. dispositae ... lucernae The lighting of lamps just before the start of the Sabbath is a very old custom, Jews being forbidden to light fires on the Sabbath itself, cf. e.g. Exodus XXXV.3.

pinguem nebulam vomuere A scornful expression, the tone of which is achieved by the exaggeration nebulam and the expressive and picturesque vomuere which is preferred to such colourless verbs as edo or emitto. pinguis is used elsewhere of smoke in the favourable sense of 'rich', cf. Luc. VIII.730, Sen. H.F. 911; in P., the word has strong overtones of greasiness, cf. Hor. Sat. II.6.64 uncta satis pingui ponentur holuscula lardo. Seneca attempts to rationalise his opposition to the Jewish lamps, cf. Ep. 95.47 quomodo sint di colendi solet praecipii; accendere aliquem lucernas sabbatis prohibeamus, quoniam nec lumine di egent et ne homines quidem delectantur fuligine.

182. portantes violas The phrase is unexpected and decidedly off-beat, and is evidently meant to be ridiculous. viola is not the exact equivalent of 'violet', cf. Plin. N.H. XXI.27 violis honos proximus, earumque plura genera, purpureae luteae albae. There is apparently no evidence to corroborate the use of violae in ancient Jewish rites; perhaps P. has transferred the idea from Roman ritual (e.g. dies violae).

rubrumque ... catinum catinus, an everyday word which only the satirists use frequently, often though not always implies simple or poor fare, cf. Hor. Sat. I.6.115, P.3.111, Juv. 11.108. rubrum points more definitely to impoverishment: as Jahn notes, it refers to Arretine earthenware, terra sigillata, cf. Isid. XX.4.5 Arretina vasa ex Arretio ... dicuntur, ubi fiunt; sunt enim rubra; such tableware is a mark of the poorer classes, cf. Mart. I.53.6, XIII.7, XIV.98; the Jews were poor and, because poor, contemptible: thus Martial and Juvenal claim the Jews make their living by begging and fortune-telling (Mart. XII.57.13, Juv. 3.13-16, 6.542-7).

182-3. amplexa catinum / cauda natat thynni amplexa has the force of amplectens, the perfect participle of deponent verbs often being used without reference to past time (L.R. Palmer, The Latin Language, p.327). P.'s expression is again odd, and its curious nature is furthered by an element of $\kappa\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\rho\sigma\delta\omicron\chi\acute{\iota}\nu$. amplexa catinum seems to indicate the large size of the piece of fish or the smallness of the plate which is lost in the tail's embrace: Conington compares Hor. Sat. II.4.77 angustoque vagos piscis urgere catino. cauda ...

thynni is another sign of the Jews' impoverished state: G. Némethy, A. Persii Flacci Satirae (Budapest, 1903), quotes here Plin. N.H IX.48 (on the parts of the tunny) vilissima ex his quae caudae proxima quia pingui carent, probatissima quae faucibus. natat denotes the fish's surroundings of sauce and at the same time suggests that the fish is alive and in its natural element, cf. Hor. Sat. II.8.42-3 adfertur squillas inter murena natantis / in patina porrecta; for nato simply of swimming in sauce, cf. Juv. 14.8.

183. thynni Jews today eat fish on Friday evenings to honour the Sabbath; the custom, while clearly very old, is not demanded by the Talmud, only recommended, cf. E.R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period (New York), V(1956), p.42. P. avoids the error of understanding the Sabbath as a fast day: for this misconception, cf. e.g. Petron. frag. 37, Suet. Aug. 76.2, Strabo, XVI.2.40.

tumet alba fidelia vino Another curious turn of phrase: tumet cannot be understood literally, as in Phaedr. II.7.3 tumentes multo saccos hordeo; it seems rather to refer to the swollen shape of the wine-jar, as Conington says. fidelia is a jar made of clay or glass and used as a container for various foodstuffs and materials (Mau, R-E, VI.2277.55ff.); the word is favoured by P. (cf. 3.21, 73) but found before him only once in Plautus and a few times in Columella; it does not occur again in Silver Latin. alba is a striking epithet: why should a clay jar be white? rubra is perhaps more expected

and would certainly have made more sense than alba; the latter indeed catches the eye but its purpose is obscure (189n.).

vino P.'s association of wine with the Sabbath may conceivably be a reference to 'kidush', the prayer said over the wine on the eve of the Sabbath; but for the general symbolic importance of wine to the Jews, cf. Goodenough, V, pp.99ff.

184. labra moves tacitus Commentators compare Hor. Ep. I.16. 60 labra movet metuens audiri; P. may have taken over something of Horace's thought as well as his language: for the undesirable connotations of silent prayer, cf. e.g. P. 2.9-14, Sen. Benef. VI.38.5.

recutitaque sabbata A clear unctura acris, the epithet being transferred from the best-known and most-mocked physical feature of the Jews to their weekly festal day. References to circumcision are numerous and often contemptuous, cf. e.g. Petron. frag.37, Mart. VII.30.5, 35.3-4, XI.94, Tac. Hist. V. 5.2, Juv. 14.99, 104. The plural sabbata is regularly used in both Greek and Latin for the single day.

palles Transitive, as at Hor. Carm. III.27.28, P. 1.124. The verb denotes fear, as often (80n.), but its force here is uncertain. Why should the Sabbath be something to fear? The same idea is in Juv. 14.96 metuentem sabbata patrem, and perhaps 'fear' in P. and Juvenal is equivalent to 'observance'. On the other hand, palles may indicate the unreasoning terror

of the superstitious man on festal days (as opposed to the faith of the religious man): Casaubon cites Plut. Mor. 169E ἐστεφανωμένος ὠχρῖα̃ (sc. ὁ δεισιδαίμων), θύει καὶ φοβεῖται, εὔχεται φωνῇ παλλομένη καὶ χερσὶν ἐπιθυμιᾷ τρεμούσαις. The final possibility is that palles implies a 'sympathiser' or partial proselyte: Juvenal's metuentem sabbata patrem is, as it transpires, only a Jewish 'sympathiser', whereas his sons become full proselytes; and φοβοῦμενοι or σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν were common, though not technical, terms applied to 'sympathisers': see H.J. Leon, The Jews of Ancient Rome (Philadelphia, 1960), pp.251ff.

185. nigri lemures lemur denotes a frightening and malevolent spirit, cf. Hor. Ep. II.2.209 nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides?, Porph. ad l. lemures: umbras vagantes hominum ante diem mortuorum et ideo metuendas, Non. 135(M.) lemures: larvae nocturnae et terrificationes imaginum et bestiarum. Varro de Vita Populi Romani lib. I: 'quibus temporibus in sacris fabam iactant noctu ad dicunt se Lemures domo extra ianuam eicere'. The means of driving away these lemures, the ceremony of the Lemuria, is described at length in Ov. Fast. V.421-44; in contrast to the Parentalia, which were devoted to the ghosts of dead relatives, the Lemuria are dies nefasti, designed to placate kinless and therefore unsatisfied and hostile spirits: see H.J. Rose, 'Manes Exite Paterni', Univ.Calif.Publ.Class.Phil., 12(1941), 89-93. P. includes nigri because of the frequent associations of black with death.

ovoque pericula rupto The reference is extremely obscure and the scholiast alone must be relied on for enlightenment: sacerdotes, qui explorandis periculis sacra faciebant, observare solebant ovum igni impositum, utrum in capite, id est in summitate, an in latere insudaret. si autem ruptum effluerat, periculum ei portendebat pro quo factum fuerat, vel rei familiari eius. This is rather different from the superstition, described at Plin. N.H. XXVIII.19, in accordance with which the Romans break the shells of eggs they have eaten in order to prevent these from being used in magical rites against them.

186. grandes galli The castrated priests of Cybele. For grandes, commentators compare Juv. 6.511-13 ecce furentis / Bellonae matrisque deum chorus intrat et ingens / semivir; castration may have resulted in abnormal physical development, cf. H. Graillot, Le Culte de Cybèle, mère des dieux, à Rome et dans l'empire romaine (Paris, 1912), p.291,n.3.

sistro The distinguishing mark of the religion of Isis, cf. Ov. Am. II.13.11, Luc. VIII.832, Juv. 13.92-3 decernat quodcumque volet de corpore nostro / Isis et irato feriat mea lumina sistro (with Mayor's note).

lusca sacerdos The epithet is difficult. Commentators mention the belief that Isis punished by blindness, for which cf. Mayor on Juv. 13.93, R.E. Witt, Isis in the Graeco-Roman World (London, 1971), p.258 and notes 15 and 16; the usual idea being one of total blindness, lusca may ironically

indicate that the priestess has felt half of Isis' wrath. Alternatively, Jahn cites instances of ancient art that represent Egyptian priests as one-eyed; but there is probably no need to assume this degree of awareness on P.'s part in the sphere of oriental religion.

187. incussere deos The unparalleled collocation is partly based on such expressions as Virg. Aen. V.679 excussaue pectore Iuno est, VI.78-9 magnum si pectore possit / excussisse deum, both of which Conington quotes; he refers also to the stereotyped incutio metum, terrorem, etc. (TLL, VII.1.1101. 38ff.), which looks to have influenced P., though there is no question of translating deos as 'fear of gods'. incussere is 'gnomic' perfect, cf. ingemuere (61).

incussere deos infantis corpora The grammatical subjects of incussere are lemures, pericula, galli and sacerdos: the various religions and superstitions current in Rome are indiscriminately thrown together for ironic effect. The belief that neglect or contempt of religion brought bodily afflictions may be oriental in origin: commentators cite Mart. IV.43.7 iuro per Syrios tibi tumores, Plut. Mor. 170D τὴν δὲ Συρίαν θεὸν οἱ δεισιδαίμονες νομίζουσιν, ἃν μαινίδας τις ἢ ἀφύας φάγη, τὰ ἀντικνήμια διεσθίειν, ἔλκεσι τὸ σῶμα πιμπράναι, συντήκειν τὸ ἥπαρ. With infantis corpora, P. is probably thinking of dropsy, cf. 3.63, 95.

188. praedictum ... caput ... ali Who is thought to have recommended garlic and for what purpose is uncertain. While

the supposed protective powers of garlic are well-known today, there is little in antiquity outside P. to suggest that the vegetable was similarly regarded then. Garlic appears often enough in the context of medicine, cf. e.g. Celsus, III.12, IV.19,24, V.27.6, and its role in superstition may be related to its curative properties; but for a belief not very far removed from the modern superstition that garlic drives away evil spirits by its smell, cf. Plin. N.H. XX.50 (alium) serpentes abigit et scorpiones odore atque, ut aliqui tradidere, bestias omnes. For caput ali, 'a clove of garlic', cf. Colum. VI.34.1, VIII.5.12, Plin. N.H. XIX.106, etc.; the expression is probably derived from σκοπόδου κεφαλή (e.g. Aristoph. Plut. 718, Vesp. 679). Placed at the very end of several mock-imposing lines, ali is strongly bathetic.

ter The ritual and magical connotations of the number three are particularly well known to the Greeks and Romans, cf. Theocr. 2.43 (with Gow's references), Virg. Ecl. 8.73-5 terna tibi haec primum triplici diversa colore / licia circumdo, terque haec altaria circum / effigiem duco: numero deus impare gaudet, Tib. I.2.54, 5.14, Ov. Met. VII.189-90, 261, Ciris, 371-3.

mane The time for taking medicines, cf. TLL, VIII.277.70ff.

189-91. The ending of the poem is similar to that of the first satire, where P. distinguishes between his few readers and the unsympathetic and ignorant masses. It is an expansion

of the idea contained in secrete loquimur (21): P.'s poetry will not be accepted or appreciated by everyone; but here, the accent is on the erudite content of his verse: philosophy is naturally ill-suited to an uninformed and prejudiced public; for this common notion, see Pease on Cic. N.D. I.61.

189-90. dixeris ... / ... ridet The protasis of the conditional sentence is placed in parataxis with the apodosis, cf. Hor. Sat. II.6.39 dixeris ... , addit et instat, II.7.32, Tibull. I.6.53, P. 5.78, Hofmann, Lat.Umg., pp.109f., Hofmann-Szantyr, pp.656f.

189. inter ... centuriones The preposition implies an assembled group, cf. Cic. de Or. I.45 ista inter Graecos dici et disceptari solere. Centurions are instances of ignorance and boorishness at P. 3.77-85, and are spoken of elsewhere with contempt, cf. Cic. Sen. 33 ne vos quidem T. Ponti centurionis vires habetis; num idcirco est ille praestantior?, T.D. IV.55 et quidem ipsam illam iram centurio habeat aut signifer vel ceteri (sc. non orator sapiens), Fronto, ad Ver. Imp. II.1.5 (Van den Hout) scilicet hoc (i.e. artem eloquentiae) te a centurionibus vel primipilaribus, elegantissimis altercatoribus, didicisse?, A. Sonny, 'Neue Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer', ALL, 8(1893), 483-94(p.486).

varicosos The word is first attested in Lucil. 801(M.) and occurs in Silver Latin verse only here and at Juv. 6.397. Varicose veins are the result of standing up too long (so

Juvenal's varicosus fiet haruspex), but why should centurions have them? varicosos, while clearly meant to be a humorous epithet, is an inapposite one in the context. This is not an isolated example: P. elsewhere demonstrates that he is exceedingly wilful in his use of adjectives, throwing them in haphazardly for some limited effect without paying much regard to sense. Some adjectives may serve to add a touch of colour, cf. rubra (169), alba (183); some may aim at comic effect, cf. scabiosum (74), varicosos; others are included apparently for the sake of vividness, cf. alto (95), udas (165); all have in common the fact that, while they catch the reader's eye, they cannot be convincingly justified in their respective contexts.

190. crassum ridet The derisive laughter of the non-philosopher, cf. 1.132, 3.86-7. crassum may denote harshness of sound, cf. Mart. XII.18.11-12 Celtiberis / haec sunt nomina crassiora terris, Gell. XIII.21.15 mollius teretiusque visum ... 'fretu' scribere quam 'freto' ... erat enim crassius vetustiusque 'perangusto fretu' dicere; following on from this last instance, contrast crassum ridet with P. 3.110 subrisit molle puella. But crassum may also have overtones of intellectual dullness, cf. Varro, Men. 487 sensibus crassis homulli non videmu' quid fiat?, Mart. IX.22.2 vulgus crassaque turba.

Pulfenius ingens For the name, see W. Schulze, Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen (Berlin, 1904), pp.216f. The stature of centurions is often remarked upon, cf. Hor. Sat. I.6.72-3

magni / quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti, Juv. 14.195, 16.14; in addition, ingens may be taken on the level of multumque torosa iuventus (P. 3.86), where the idea looks to be one of brawn without brains, cf. Sen. Ep. 15.2 maiore corporis sarcina animus eliditur et minus agilis est.

191. centum Graecos centum may stand for an indefinitely large number (1.29, TLL, III.827.77ff.), but here contains an element of precision with centusse following: see next note. Graecos is presumably a contemptuous substitute for philosophos; there is some chauvinistic anti-Hellenism here, as in 6.37-40. According to Axelson, Unp.Wörter, pp.51f., Graecus is a less dignified form than Graius; but in P. the distinction between the two seems blurred: in three similar passages, P. uses Graecus once (here) and Graius twice (1.127, 6.38), and it is extremely difficult to see how Graius has the effect of an elevated term; A. Ernout, Philologica (Paris), III(1965), p.89, may be wrong to argue that the distinction between the two words is discarded by Horace (Brink on A.P. 323), but he could well be right to suggest that P. at least uses them without any discernible stylistic difference.

curto centusse licetur curtus, in spite of its appearance at Hor. Carm. III.24.64, four times in Propertius, and at Ov. Fast. II.645, seems to be colloquial: it is found among artistic prose writers only in Cicero (twice), and is confined in other verse to Lucil. 445(M.), Lucretius, Hor. Sat. I.9.70, P. 4.52, Martial and Juvenal; its colloquial tone is further

suggested by Horace's pejorative application of it to the Jews at Sat. I.9.70; see Tränkle, Sprachkunst, pp.129f. curtus, while not occurring elsewhere exactly as P. uses it, often indicates something short of completeness: centussis is one hundred asses and curto here denotes a sum short of this, cf. Schol. tamquam diceret nonaginta novem. The whole line would seem to be a vivid variation on the proverbial (non) assis facio, for which cf. Otto, Sprichwörter, p.39, s.v. as(1): one Greek, i.e. philosopher, is valued by Pulfenius at less than one as. The form centusse, as the scholiast notes, is most odd: according to Varro, L.L. IX.81, the values from tresis to centussis are indeclinable in the singular; P., however, treats centussis as a regular third declension noun, which is a contravention of established Latin usage: contrast centussis in Varro, Men. 404 nunc illum qui norunt volunt emere milibus centum, te qui novit nemo centussis. P.'s centusse is meant to be ablative of price, cf. Plin. N.H. VII.126 Aristidis Thebani pictoris unam tabulam centum talentis rex Attalus licitus est.

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